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THE STOCK EXCHANGE

A SHORT STUDY OF INVEST-
MENT AND SPECULATION

BY

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Editor of *The Economist*

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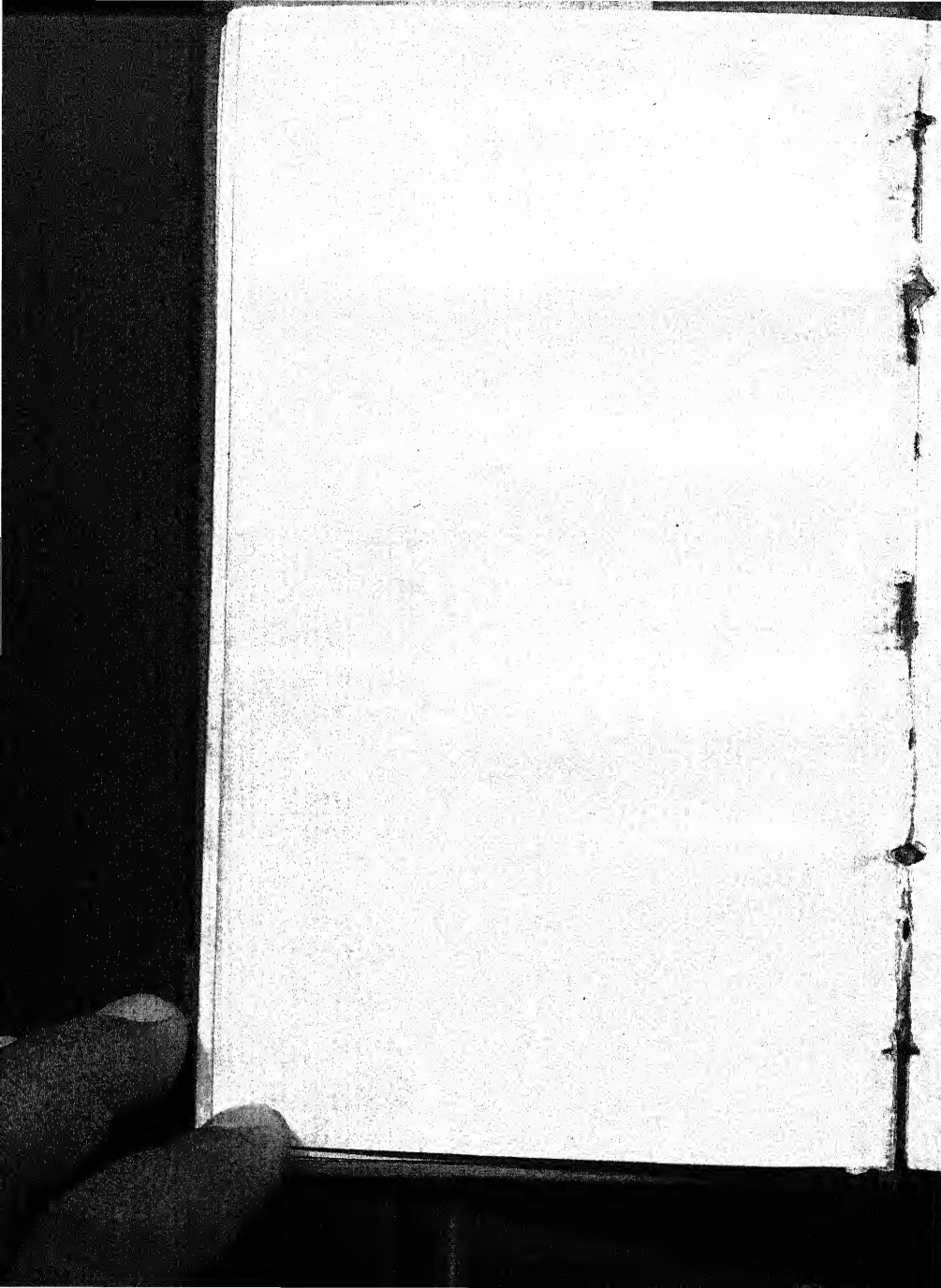
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THE STOCK EXCHANGE

INTRODUCTION

IN an old Pennsylvanian almanac of the eighteenth century two qualities were postulated for success in business: first, application or industry, and second, thrift or frugality. The first without the second often leads to nothing. "A man if he knows not how to save as he gets, may keep his nose all his life to the grindstone, and die not worth a groat at last." The old proverb, *A fat kitchen makes a lean will*, should remind us moderns that not only excess in eating and drinking, but luxurious and expensive follies of all kinds may drive the hardest worker into debt and difficulty, until after long enjoyment of a good income he ends his career in poverty and dependence. This book is not concerned, however, with the moral value of thrift, or even with the advantages which savings bestow upon the individual. Without savings indeed, or without an inherited fortune,

no one can feel quite independent. This is a strong and sufficient moral ground for not spending all that one earns. But our particular business is neither with the first process of earning, nor with the second of saving, but with a third. We have to consider neither the making nor the saving of money, but its investment after it has been earned and saved. "Investment" is a comparatively new word; it was not known to Dr. Johnson as a financial term, and many of the investor's facilities are essentially modern. Nor does our subject allow us to treat of all investments, it confines us to that most usual form of investment in Stock Exchange Securities.

But it is important to bear in mind throughout that the accumulation of wealth, and the reduction of poverty, and all the means by which material comforts and conveniences are multiplied, by which the arts flourish, by which letters and learning are spread through all ranks of society, depend ultimately upon the thrift and savings of individuals, assisted by the honesty, the efficiency and the peaceful proclivities of their Governments. That the virtue of saving is easy for the rich and difficult for the poor must be

confessed; that it is sometimes morally and economically right to spend all one's income and even to borrow may be admitted. But, nevertheless, progress depends upon saving. Banks and Stock Exchanges, which facilitate and encourage saving, are themselves the fruits of saving; without saving they could not have been called into existence. When capital shrinks, when the community they serve sinks into decay, these institutions likewise must come to grief. Thanks, however, to the onward march of invention and science, as well as to the growing reluctance of nations to engage in war, progress is now the rule and decay the exception.

The art of making money is a mystery which cannot be taught; and though many books have been written with prescriptions for acquiring a fortune, few men have ever made themselves a penny the richer by reading them. But the art of keeping money after you have made it, and of increasing your surplus capital by judicious investments, can be learnt. Any person with prudence and self-restraint can in ordinary times and circumstances secure himself against serious capital depreciation, and obtain a steady dividend on the moneys he has been

able to put by from time to time. This was not always so. In fact, until the last century property and trade were so insecure, even in the most settled and civilised countries, that a man who had saved money was often at a loss what to do. He might have to choose between spending it and hiding it away. The miser, who hoarded his gold, because he could not trust it out of his sight, was to be found side by side with the Jew, who lent it out at exorbitant rates of interest, calculating that he would gain in usury from those who paid more than he lost in bad debts. Pirates by sea, brigands on land, sovereigns and nobles who extorted loans only to repudiate them, Governments which supplied their needs by debasing the coinage, or by issuing worthless paper money—these are but samples from the big bale of circumstances that made the accumulation and investment of wealth in olden times so difficult and hazardous.

But now, apart from the wonderful improvements in administration, justice, and police, the most skilful and successful burglar can no longer rob a rich man of his fortune. And why? Not because the police are more efficient, not because safes have been perfected,

not because the art of thieving has decayed. No, simply and solely because the rich man no longer buries his gold. Hoarding is obsolete or obsolescent. It has been superseded by two special inventions, two marvellously ingenious contrivances, which have made the safe disposal of savings incomparably simpler and easier. These inventions are the Bank and the Stock Exchange, or, shall we say, the cheque and the Stock Exchange security?

In Great Britain and the United States, in Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Cape, almost every one who is in the possession of a moderate income, say £300 a year, or more, has a bank account, into which he deposits his earnings and from which he draws his expenses. If he is of a thrifty and saving disposition, he lives well within his income; and when his balance at the bank grows larger than is necessary he will pick out a security and instruct his banker or broker to buy it for him. This security may be a bond with coupons attached. The purchaser may keep the bond at home and cut off the coupons as they become due, sending them to his banker, who will exchange them for money, and add them to his balance

at the bank. More usually he will deposit his security at a bank, leaving the banker to look after his coupons and add them to his balance as they become due. Or he may have bought the registered stock of some public corporation or private company, in which case the dividend will be sent him regularly by post. The security, of course, is paid for by a cheque upon his bank, and the bank takes that sum from his balance and hands it over to the broker, who buys the security and takes a small commission for his trouble. A hundred years ago the use of the cheque was hardly understood even in London, and an English country gentleman would have had infinitely more trouble in making a small investment than would nowadays a remote Australian squatter, or a wheat-grower in the wildest West of Canada. A letter posted to London from a distant village of Saskatchewan in 1910 would arrive with far more certainty, and perhaps not less speed, than a letter posted in 1810 from a village in Sutherland or Argyllshire. A penny stamp with a cheque enclosed in a brief letter of instructions to the banker, and the thing is done. But the thrifty Scot of 1810 would have had the utmost difficulty, and great expense as

well as risk, in converting a similar amount of cash savings into an interest-bearing security. In 1710 the thing would have been practically impossible. The Bank of England had only just been called into existence, and, in fact, there were no bankers, no brokers, and no Stock Exchange in the modern sense of the word. A man who wished to invest, without personally employing his capital, had practically no choice but to buy property and let it out at a rent, or lend his money on mortgage. Bank of England Stock or National Debt had just begun to be a political speculation for the moneyed Whigs in London. Merchant venturers might risk a large sum in a joint-stock voyage. Otherwise the average Englishman at the beginning of the eighteenth century A.D. was hardly better off for investment than the average Athenian in the age of Pericles, or the average Roman in the days of Cicero.

But modern inventions have brought dangers as well as securities. There are many traps and pitfalls for the would-be investor. If by very hard work a thrifty person saves £100 or £1,000 one would expect him to take very good care of it. He need not be in any hurry. It will be perfectly safe, yielding him

a modest interest, if he deposits it in a respectable bank or in the savings department of a post-office. Unfortunately a natural passion for high interest, or the promise of an increase in his capital too often makes him an easy prey to some plausible rogue. In a moment of weakness he draws a cheque, buys some unmarketable security, and the greater part if not the whole of his hard-earned savings is irrevocably lost. The wild-cat prospectuses, concealed advertisements and inspired tips in which so many newspapers abound are so many traps and pitfalls for the unwary.

I have written this little book in the hope that at any rate a few thousands of readers may avoid such losses, and that some hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of pounds, which might have been sunk in fraudulent companies, may flow through honest hands into sound securities and profitable concerns. Wasteful expenditure and riotous living are often truly described as an ill feature of our age and country. But the reckless waste of savings through mere carelessness, stupidity, or credulity, may be more deplorable than the wasteful expenditure of income; for it often involves helpless widows and orphans in a wretched and unforeseen

yet easily avoidable poverty. With a little attention and common sense these miseries can be guarded against.

We shall be concerned mainly, as I have said, and as the title of the book implies, with investments in Stock Exchange securities, and more especially in the securities which are bought and sold on the London Stock Exchange. Every Stock Exchange has its own list of securities, and only a small number of stocks are international in the sense of being quoted at the same time on the Exchanges of London, Paris, Berlin, and New York. But London is the banking and financial centre of the world; nor can any territorial limit be set to British investments. Our merchants and shippers seek profit in every corner of the globe; our investors large and small have interests in every continent, and the London Stock Exchange List is in itself a sort of key to the distribution of British trade and capital. Moreover, an English book of this description should appeal directly to our American kinsmen in the United States, to Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders as well as to the people now happily drawn together in a United South Africa. It will, therefore, be proper within

a small compass to take a wide view; for, as Burke says, "Great empires and little minds go ill together."

But while this is the main purpose, I have aimed incidentally at bringing to bear upon this subject the teachings of history. The stock markets of to-day are not only more interesting but far more intelligible if we can approach them with the lantern of experience in our hand. Those who understand a business or an institution best are those who have made it or grown up with it. The next best thing is to learn how it has grown up, and then watch or take part in its actual working.

With some of the opinions expressed in later chapters the readers will often disagree. Many of them are drawn less from books than from conversation and observation. Every genuine attempt to portray the complex conditions of modern business life must fail in a greater or less degree. The colouring will be too bright here, and there too sombre. Something material will be left out. Some expressions may be too strong, and some factors may be over-emphasised. Perhaps I may be accused of a certain bias in favour of the investor and of the general public. And this may well be. At the same time I

would beg to assure the reader that he and I have no better friends than the numberless bankers, brokers, dealers, and promoters of new undertakings who practise callings so useful and so indispensable with the highest sense of honour, the most scrupulous integrity, and the most consummate ability in the great financial and commercial centres of the world.

CHAPTER I

THE EARLY HISTORY OF BANKING AND STOCK-JOBGING

STOCK EXCHANGE is an honest word. It means exactly what you would expect. Just as a Corn Exchange is a place where corn is bought and sold, so a Stock Exchange is a place where stocks are exchanged, or, if you like, where stocks and shares are bought and sold. It is as familiar to the modern business world as a bank, and in the great commercial capitals, where credit and speculation are focussed, the two are invariably found together. In London the Stock Exchange lies alongside the Bank of England, and round them within a quarter of a mile are clustered hundreds of British, foreign, and colonial banks, exchange houses, discount houses, and financial institutions of every sort and kind. So in New York. There the great banks and financial houses congregate about Wall Street in a fashion that might

point rather to their dependence upon the Stock Exchange than to the dependence of the Stock Exchange upon them. Wall Street, in fact, suggests a blend of banking and speculation.

But two centuries ago there were few banks and no Stock Exchanges. If we go back only a century our London Stock Exchange was but a struggling institution, a weakling in its cradle, despised and disliked by turns, often threatened with extinction by an irate legislature. Even banks were only just beginning to prove their utility, and the true principles of banking were understood by few. Nor had any country in the world at that time a really sound system of currency. The Bank of England itself would not and could not give five pounds for a five-pound Bank of England note. Yet after 1790, when the Bank of Amsterdam fell into disrepute—it admitted its insolvency in 1795—London had outdistanced all competitors as a disposer of capital, a dealer in credit and a manager of money transactions. In a single century the revolution has been accomplished. In this year of grace (1911) there is hardly an important country except China—and even China is planning reform—which would not be ashamed to own such a

law and system of currency and banking as England boasted a century ago, hardly a great city in the whole world whose merchants and investors are not better provided with facilities than were the wealthy citizens of London in 1811. A contrast so remarkable may well set us thinking and lead us towards an explanation of the problem we have to solve. For the Stock Exchange does not stand alone; it is not an isolated phenomenon: it is an item in the catalogue of progress, like the post and the railway, the telegraph and the telephone. Material progress and advancement are made up of many parts all hanging together. Banks and Stock Exchanges are the outward and visible signs of a wonderful improvement in money and credit. But they could not possibly be what they are without one another, or without a hundred other inventions. For example, what would a bank or a Stock Exchange be without a post-office? And what would a post-office be without railways, steamers and telegraphs? And how could we have had railways and telegraphs if steam power and electricity had not been discovered and applied?

But, though the wonderful inventions that have made the modern system of rapid travel

and instantaneous communication are responsible for an equally wonderful system of international commerce and finance, I do not pretend that a Stock Exchange would be impossible without the railway and the telegraph. In fact, the London Stock Exchange was founded before either was known. All that is really necessary to make a Stock Exchange is a sufficient quantity of stocks and shares and a sufficient number of investors or speculators desirous of buying and selling this sort of commodity. Indeed the philosopher, looking back to the civilisation of ancient Greece and Rome, may well wonder why, with their baths, their theatres, their courts of law, their shops and markets and banks, Athens and Rome never invented, or possessed a Stock Exchange. But this is only another way of expressing surprise that the convenient device of translating capital and debts into terms of interest-bearing paper was not invented until comparatively recent times. If the scheme proposed by Xenophon for a sort of joint-stock bank at Athens had been adopted, it might easily have led to the foundation of a Stock Exchange.

Interest-bearing paper, in the sense of Stock Exchange securities, was part of a contrivance

of the moneyed interest to finance the Continental wars of William of Orange. But William's was not the first needy Government that would have welcomed any plan for relieving its necessities at the expense of posterity.

Money, of course, and money-lending can be traced back far beyond the Christian era. Athenian lawyers in the days of Demosthenes argued about mortgages on land and ships. But an investor could not buy a share in a company or lend money to the State by putting a talent into Greek *bonds*. There were no Italian *rentes* for a Roman citizen to buy with a bag of coins bearing Cæsar's image and superscription.

It may well be asked why the world made no steady progress in wealth until the eighteenth century, and why since then, in spite of wars and armaments, plagues and famines, earthquakes and conflagrations—capital has accumulated at an ever-increasing rate. I am inclined to think that among the various contributory causes an improvement of money, a development of credit and a multiplication of investments (three closely connected facts) have played a decisive part. The establishment of sound and honest money comes first;

for without this there can be no confidence, and without confidence trade cannot flourish and wealth cannot accumulate.

When Europe began to wake from the dark centuries that followed the fall of the Roman Empire, Italy took the lead not only in the renaissance of art and learning, but also in commerce. The Bank of Venice is supposed to have been founded in 1157. In the fourteenth century the Florentines forged ahead, and the Bank of the Medici became the financial centre of what little financial intercourse and commerce then existed between the principal nations. In 1401 a bank was founded at Barcelona, and in 1407 the Republic of Genoa, being embarrassed by a multitude of loans, consolidated them into a "mountain" (monte) and made this heap of debt the capital of a bank which was placed under the management of eight directors elected by the holders of the debt or stock. Various cities and territories belonging to Genoa were made over to the bank as security for the debt. The fame and success of the Italian banks led to the foundation of small lending houses in other countries by Lombard merchants. Quite a number settled in London, and gave their name to Lombard Street. As

the Italian cities declined those of Germany and Northern Europe rose, and the Hanseatic League flourished during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Then Holland shook off the Spanish yoke and forged a new link between freedom and wealth. The famous Bank of Amsterdam was founded in 1609. Its prime purpose was to provide a good mercantile currency to remedy the evils of worn and clipped coins, which harassed merchants everywhere and embarrassed specially the trade between Holland and other countries. Already the Dutch were becoming the principal carriers and merchants of Northern Europe. The bank established this predominance. It received bad coins at very nearly their intrinsic value, issuing coin of standard weight and fineness in return. At the same time it was enacted that all foreign bills of exchange drawn upon, or negotiated at, Amsterdam of the value of more than 600 guilders should be paid in bank money. Thus the value of bills on Holland was raised abroad, and foreign merchants found it convenient to keep an account at the Bank of Amsterdam, so that they might have legal money to buy foreign bills. The bank was the property of the city and was under the

control of four burgomasters. It was founded on the principle of providing good money for the finance of foreign trade in the freest and most prosperous commercial port. It was also a bank of deposit, and as such carried to considerable perfection the principle of written transfer. Any person who chose to lodge money in the bank might transfer it from his own name to that of another; and the law, as we have seen, required foreign bills of exchange to be paid by such transfers. The device is really the same as that by which a business transaction between two persons who have accounts at the same bank is now settled. One draws a cheque in favour of the other. The amount of money at the bank remains the same, but some of it is transferred in the bank's book from the name of the customer who drew the cheque to that of the other who endorsed it. Thus there is a transfer of money without any actual movement of cash.

The Bank of Amsterdam flourished for a hundred and fifty years. Its fall was brought about by the misconduct of its directors, preceded and followed by a relative decline in the commerce of Holland, which yielded to the growing strength and wealth of England. In one of the most instructive digres-

sions of his great masterpiece, *The Wealth of Nations*, Adam Smith explains how the money current in small commercial city states like Amsterdam, Hamburg and Nuremburg consisted largely of foreign coins, many of them worn and debased, and how, in order to remedy the inconveniences of these exchanges, banks were originally established in these and other cities, which came in time to serve wider purposes. But larger and more self-contained countries, like England and France, which then depended but little upon foreign commerce, were more troubled by the defects of their own currencies than by the bad coin of their neighbours. And so the Bank of England originated not so much from external necessities or the requirements of foreign trade as from the needs of Government and reasons of State.

England, indeed, had at first made but slow progress in the arts of economising money and manufacturing credit. The profitable business of money-changing was monopolised by Henry the First, John, Edward the Third, and some of their successors, who established the office of Royal Exchanger in London at Old Change near St. Paul's, and in other towns. This official had the exclusive privilege of

exchanging gold coins for silver, and foreign for English money. The king farmed out the office, or shared in the profits, and the office in each town was called the Exchange, a name still attached to many of the covered markets where merchants meet to buy and sell and speculate in particular commodities such as wool, cotton, corn, as well as in stocks and shares. The office, which had fallen into disuse, was revived by a proclamation of Charles the First, much to the dissatisfaction of the goldsmiths, who had been making good profits by culling out heavy coins for melting or for sale to the Dutch mint. The Goldsmiths' Company and the Common Council appealed in vain against this ordinance; but after the Commonwealth was established the business of money-changing fell again into the hands of the goldsmiths. Another trade, that of money-lending, was monopolised by the Jews from the Conquest until their expulsion in 1290, when the Lombards succeeded to the craft and proved equally usurious, their rates being proportioned to their risks. There was also a legal rate of interest—10 per cent. from 1571 to 1624, then 8 till 1651, and 6 till 1714, after which it was fixed at 5 for England, and 6 for Ireland. The term

"usury" denoted any rate of interest above that which the law sanctioned and enforced. After Charles the First's time the goldsmiths became the principal lenders and dealers in money, though reinforced by the Jews whom Cromwell readmitted to England. Then, as Gilbart, our leading authority on English banking, explains, a new era began in the history of banking. "The goldsmiths, who were previously only money-changers, now became also money-borrowers, and allowed interest on the sums they borrowed. They were agents for receiving rents. They lent money to the king on the security of the taxes. The receipts they issued for the money lodged at their houses circulated from hand to hand, and were known by the name of *Goldsmiths' Notes*. These may be considered as the first kind of bank-notes issued in England." The banking goldsmiths made way rapidly, and attracted large quantities of cash, which enabled them to advance money to Cromwell and Charles the Second at high rates in advance of the revenues. These "new-fashioned bankers" were sharply criticised by the pamphleteers, and even by Sir Josiah Child, for draining away money from the country to London and preventing its investment in

land. Here, in fact, we have a small beginning of the modern system of investment by deposit in banks. After the Restoration, it is written, "King Charles the Second being in want of money, these goldsmith bankers took 10 per cent. of him barefacedly and by private contracts. On many bills, orders, tallies and debts of that king they got 20, sometimes 30 per cent. to the great dishonour of the Government." In 1667, when the Dutch fleet sailed up the Thames, set fire to Chatham, and burnt four ships of the line, there occurred the first recorded "run" on our banks. The alarm was allayed by a royal proclamation promising that the payments to the bankers should be made as usual from the Exchequer. But in 1672 the Exchequer was closed and the king repudiated a debt of £1,328,526 which he had borrowed of the goldsmiths at 8 per cent. This shameless act caused wide distress. "Not merchants only, but widows, orphans and others became suddenly deprived of the whole of their property. They came in crowds to the bankers, but could obtain neither the principal nor the interest of the money they had deposited." Ultimately the king compounded after the manner of Central American Republics. He

refused to repay the principal, but granted a patent to pay 6 per cent. interest out of his hereditary excise. Then after six years he again suspended payment. This Goldsmiths' Debt, or Bankers' Debt, was reconsidered in the years following the Revolution. After some litigation the claims of the creditors were partially recognised. A settlement was reached in 1705, the Government agreeing to pay 3 per cent. (about half the market rate) on the capital with the right to discharge the whole at any time by payment of one half the amount originally lent.

We are now brought to the foundation of the Bank of England, which coincides with the first chapter in the English History of Stocks and Stock Jobbing—a development much hated by the old Jacobites and Tories. They called it “Dutch finance,” and their prejudice was justified partly by political, partly by economic, and partly by moral considerations. Politically they hated the Bank and the Stock which it issued, because it supplied the Government with money; for the Government was the Whig Government, standing between the country and the return of the Stuarts. Economically they disliked both Bank and Debt, because easy borrowing

meant heavy expenditure on war, and an increase of taxes, principally on land, to pay the growing interest on the debt. Morally and socially they hated the new "Dutch" finance, because it stimulated speculation, and increased the power of London and of the moneyed interest at the expense of the country gentlemen. But the new system with all its evils had come to stay, and was destined not only to make many fortunes and bankruptcies, but also to give a marvellous impetus to the growth of credit, trade and capital. What happened has been often told, and for our purpose it is enough to retell the story very briefly.

During the seventeenth century our kings generally borrowed by means of Exchequer tallies, which were acknowledgments of sums paid by private lenders to the Exchequer. The tally was a willow stick four or five feet long and about one inch square. There were notches on one side to express the amount of the debt, and identical descriptions of the payment were written on two of the three vacant sides. The stick was split in half through the notches. One half was given to the person making payment into the Exchequer; the other half of the counter tally,

or counter foil, was kept at the Exchequer as a check. Here, it will be seen, we have at once the origin of the modern cheque system of our banks; and in the United States the early spelling of "check" is still adhered to. There were two kinds of tallies—Tallies of Pro and Tallies of Sol. The Tallies of Pro were like a modern cheque on a banker, and served as a voucher to the holder at the Exchequer of account. This Tally was so called because it was struck "Pro," *i. e.* for the benefit of the person named. Tallies of Sol were acknowledgments of sums paid (*solutum*) into the Exchequer, and were issued when loans were raised from the public; while Tallies of Sol (as Mr. Joseph Burn points out in his excellent lectures on "Stock Exchange Investments") came into play when public subscriptions were not forthcoming, being issued in lieu of cash for the payment of ordinary disbursements by the Government. The Tally system was not abolished till 1783, and served the purpose of modern Treasury bills enabling the Government to borrow small sums for short periods. But the action of Charles the Second in repudiating the Goldsmiths' Debt naturally made tallies suspect, and increased the difficulty of borrowing. Hence after the

Revolution the Parliament of William had to find money for foreign wars by other methods, and in 1692 a million was raised by life annuities.

In 1694 the Bank of England was founded. It was the project of William Paterson, a clever but speculative Scot, who afterwards came to grief in the Darien enterprise. It was the first of our Joint-Stock Banks, and though not the first of our Joint-Stock Companies it gave the first opportunity for general dealings in Stocks and Shares. The scheme commended itself to Montagu—a Whig statesman of great financial ability—as a means of raising money; and the Government granted a charter to the Bank on condition that the Bank should lend the whole of its original capital (£1,200,000) to the Government, receiving in return (1) £96,000 annually, *i.e.* 8 per cent. interest plus £4,000 for management, (2) the right to issue notes to the extent of £1,200,000 and (3) the right to do banking business. In plan, therefore, and original purpose the Bank of England resembles the Bank of Genoa rather than the Bank of Amsterdam. At first all went well. The tallies, which had been at a heavy discount, soon rose to par. But in 1696 the Bank failed in an attempt

to carry out a recoinage, the currency then being in a very bad state. A suspension of payments followed with a depreciation of bank notes and Exchequer tallies; but the Bank's credit was restored with the aid of the Government. In the following year the Government had to borrow another million, which was added to the Bank's capital with a corresponding increase of the note issue.

In spite of the enmity of private banks the Bank of England was well supported by the moneyed interest. Its early issues were fully subscribed, and in 1709, when the capital was doubled, the whole of the new stock—over two millions, was issued at a premium of 15 per cent. and subscribed in four hours.

The National Debt meanwhile was growing in various ways. In 1698 the New East India Company received a charter on the condition that its capital was lent to the Government. By 1711 the funded Debt had grown to £11,750,000, all of which was held by public investors as annuities, bank stock, East India Stock, etc., at various rates of interest. But there was also a huge unfunded debt which had grown to 9 millions in 1710. A new Joint-Stock Company called the South Sea Company was promoted with the aid of

Harley and St. John to take over this Debt. In return for this it was granted trading privileges, and to provide interest on its 9 millions of capital stock the Government assigned various duties on wine, and beer and tobacco, etc. For ten years the company engaged in the African Ocean trade and other commercial ventures with little success. Then Sir John Blunt—one of the directors, a cunning and plausible scrivener, hatched another scheme, and by corrupt means won over Aislaby the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and various other ministers and members of Parliament. The idea was taken from the famous Mississippi Company scheme of Law, which had burst over France with such disastrous ruin a year before. Undeterred by this example, Blunt boldly offered to take over the whole National Debt, amounting to 31 millions, if the Government would guarantee 5 per cent. interest for seven years and 4 per cent. thereafter in perpetuity. For some time the Bank of England and the South Sea Company bid against each other for the favour of the Government, but eventually the company's offer was accepted. The company then opened its first subscription of a million in £100 stock at £300. Blunt opportunely

circulated a report that Gibraltar and Port Mahon would be exchanged with Spain for some places in Peru, whereby the South Sea trade would be protected and enlarged. Persons of all ranks crowded to South Sea House, and the stock went off like hot cakes. This was in April. By midsummer there was a second, and then a third subscription, accompanied by promises of more and more prodigious dividends. The city went mad; stock-jobbers ran from coffee-house to coffee-house inviting subscriptions to the great bubble and to little bubble companies of all descriptions. It was the first joint-stock mania. "All distinction of party, religion, sex, character, and circumstances," writes Smollett, the historian of the time, "were swallowed up in this universal concern. Exchange Alley was filled with a strange concourse of statesmen and clergymen, churchmen and dissenters, Whigs and Tories, physicians, lawyers, tradesmen, and even with multitudes of females. All other possessions and employments were utterly neglected; and the people's attention wholly engrossed by this and other chimerical schemes, which were known by the denomination of bubbles. New companies started up every day, under

the countenance of the prime nobility. The Prince of Wales was constituted Governor of the Welsh copper company : the Duke of Chandos appeared at the head of the York buildings company : the Duke of Bridgewater formed a third, for building houses in London and Westminster. About a hundred such schemes were projected and put in execution, to the ruin of many thousands. The sums proposed to be raised by these expedients amounted to three hundred millions sterling, which exceeded the value of all the lands in England. The nation was so intoxicated with the spirit of adventure, that people became a prey to the grossest delusion. An obscure projector, pretending to have formed a very advantageous scheme, which, however, he did not explain, published proposals for a subscription in which he promised that in one month the particulars of his project should be disclosed. In the meantime he declared that every person paying two guineas should be entitled to a subscription for one hundred pounds, which would produce that sum yearly. In one forenoon this adventurer received a thousand of these subscriptions; and in the evening set out for another kingdom."

The third South Sea subscription was £1,000

for £100 stock, and £2,000 was touched before September, when the stock began to fall. By September 29 it had sunk to £150. Several eminent bankers and goldsmiths, who had lent great sums on it, were forced to stop payment and abscond. "The ebb of this portentous tide was so violent that it bore down everything in its way; and an immense number of families were overwhelmed with ruin." Walpole called in the aid of the Bank, but its resources were unequal to the emergency. The king was summoned back from Hanover; Parliament was assembled, and Walpole laid before it a wise scheme for restoring the public credit. So the curtain closed on this strange scene of national infatuation.

But it must be said, for the credit of Parliament, that a thorough inquiry was instituted and some severe punishments meted out. In the salutary reaction that followed, the British public began to appreciate the value of gilt-edged securities, and the British Government, under the prudent guidance of Walpole, practised peace and economy. The public credit responded marvellously. In Queen Anne's reign 6 per cent. had been the usual rate of interest on public loans. Within six years of the bubble—in 1726—a 3 per cent. Govern-

ment stock in £10 lottery tickets was issued at par, and actually sold up to 107 in 1739. In the wars with Spain and France (1740-1747) 30 millions more in new loans at various rates were added to the National Debt; but in the ensuing peace credit speedily revived, and in 1749 a successful scheme of conversion was effected by which the interest on the greater part of the debt was reduced to 3 per cent.

Two funds were established, one being called the 3 per cent. consolidated annuities. Thus were created the world-famed British "Consols" (*i.e.* consolidateds) which, through many fluctuations of credit, retained "the sweet simplicity of 3 per cent." for more than a century. After a short interval of peace London's stock and share markets were again flooded with Government paper by the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) which added 54 millions to the National Debt in lottery loans, bearing interest at 3, $3\frac{1}{2}$, and 4 per cent. apart from the prizes. During the succeeding peace some debt was paid off, and some was converted from 4 per cent. to 3 per cent. But in 1776 the long war of American Independence broke out, and ten years later, when its financial consequences became

clear, the National Debt was found to have been nearly doubled, having increased from 128 to 244 millions, while the charge for interest had more than doubled, having risen from £4,471,000 to £9,802,000.

At the Peace of Versailles, in 1783, the funded debt consisted of £107,000,000, 3 per cent. consols, £37,000,000 3 per cent. reduced, £32,000,000 Four per cents., and £17,000,000 Fives, while a further 42 millions was owing to the Bank, to the East India and South Sea Companies, and to the Civil List. After another breathing space the country was launched upon the most disastrous and terrible of all our wars, the war of the French Revolution. Just before its commencement in 1793 the Funded Debt amounted to about 228 millions with an interest charge of about $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions, and the unfunded or floating debt was 16 millions, with an interest charge of just under half a million. At the conclusion of peace in 1815, according to the computation of Robert Hamilton, the National Debt had run up to the appalling total of 758 millions and the charge for interest and annuities was £27,652,000. No wonder that in this last period the London Stock Exchange had become an important institution, or that great

fortunes had been made by contractors and loan-mongers of all descriptions. No wonder either that the country was submerged in pauperism and its Government fast approaching a state of bankruptcy.

From this brief account of the National Debt, which must have absorbed a very great part of the National Savings from 1700 up to the year 1815, we may return to Stock Jobbing, with which, as has been seen, the origin and expansion of our national war loans are so intimately and even inseparably associated. It has been shown how during the South Sea Bubble speculation ran through all ranks of London Society. But the boom in South Sea Stock had, as it were, a gilt-edged basis in the favour and support of the Government. Harley, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had been Governor, and one of the original directors was St. John (Viscount Bolingbroke). In the huge swindle of 1720 Aislaby, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord Sunderland, who represented the Ministry in the House of Lords, were deeply implicated. No wonder, then, that rank and fashion led that wild rush of speculators to Change Alley. A ballad-monger of the time tells how the stars and garters vied with the meaner rabble—

“To buy and sell, to see and hear
The Jews and Gentiles squabble,”
and how “the greatest ladies”

“Plied in chariots daily,
Or pawned their jewels for a sum
To venture in the Alley.”

In the reaction that followed stock-jobbing suffered discredit; but it was a genuine profession, meeting a new and genuine need. The public debt proved to be unextinguishable: the public funds grew so fast and fluctuated so rapidly under the influence of wars and rumours of wars that the quick-witted gentry of Change Alley and the coffee-houses found plenty of occupation. Private banks and joint-stock companies were also multiplying. Even during the mushroom growths of the South Sea Boom two sound insurance companies which still exist—the London Assurance Corporation and the Royal Exchange Assurance—found recognition and capital. It may be asked where all the money came from. The answer is to be found in the fact, upon which we have been insisting, that these new interest-bearing securities gave employment to wealth that had previously lain idle. The practice of hoarding is not easily extir-

pated, and only yields to the gradual growth of confidence in the credit of Government, of banks, of brokers, and of established companies. It says much for the statesmen, the merchants, the bankers, and even the stock-jobbers of eighteenth century London that money came out so freely in this very first epoch of investment. At the Revolution one fugitive is said to have carried his fortune of £20,000 away with him in a strong box. A generation later he would have taken it in bank-notes or negotiable stock.

The jobbers were long in housing themselves. At first they frequented the Royal Exchange and the Rotunda of the Bank, then the coffee-houses and the streets—Cornhill, Lombard Street and especially Change Alley and Sweetings Alley. Old Jonathan's Coffee-house was a favourite resort for those who preferred indoor comfort to the rough and tumble and exposure of Change Alley. It was burnt down in 1748. But New Jonathan's took its place, and, in July 1773, "the brokers and others at New Jonathan's came to a resolution that, instead of its being called New Jonathan's it should be called The Stock Exchange, which is to be wrote over the door." From this time London may be said to have possessed

a Stock Exchange in the modern sense, though much business in the public funds was still transacted at the Bank, and dealings in foreign securities still centred in the Royal Exchange. The members of Jonathan's paid a small subscription and eventually drew up rules, and appointed a committee of management. But daily admission could be gained by a payment of sixpence. At length the membership of brokers and jobbers outgrew the accommodation, and at the end of the eighteenth century it was determined to provide new quarters. A building was erected close to the Bank of England, in Capel Court, and opened in March 1802 with a membership of about five hundred. But this belongs to our next chapter. Here it only remains to add that the first Stock Exchange book was published in 1761. Its title ran : *Every man his own broker, or a Guide to Exchange Alley*. The author, J. Mortimer, was an economist of some merit. He had been British Consul in Holland and had seen the workings of the Amsterdam Bourse and the arbitrage business between London and Amsterdam, which was already considerable in the middle of the eighteenth century; for the Dutchmen were fond of speculating in the London market. Mortimer seems to have

lost money in stocks, and the main purpose of his book is to warn the investing public and the Government against the jobbers. He therefore gives minute instructions to would-be investors in Government funds, showing them how to deal directly with the officials at the Bank of England. We shall have occasion in another chapter to refer to this interesting book, which ran to many editions. It shows that much of the slang and many of the arts and tricks of speculation were already in vogue before the formation of the London Stock Exchange.¹

¹ Before proceeding with the next chapter, readers unfamiliar with the subject should read the glossary at the end of the book (p. 253).

CHAPTER II

THE LONDON STOCK EXCHANGE, 1800-1910

At the desire of the Royal Commission of 1877 the officials of the London Stock Exchange supplied a short summary of the origin and objects of the institution. The secretary stated that the earliest minutes on the subject were dated December 1798, and that these records referred to the existence of a Stock Exchange in 1773—apparently the Stock Exchange Coffee-house in Threadneedle Street, to which any person was admitted on payment of sixpence. Already these rooms were known as “the Stock Exchange,” or “the House”; and although transactions in the public funds were also carried on in the Rotunda of the Bank of England “there is little doubt that the Stock Exchange Rooms afforded a ready market for the operations of the bankers, merchants, and capitalists connected with the floating of the numerous loans raised at that period for the service of the State.” It is

on record, continues this official authority, that the rooms were under the control of a "committee for general purposes," though the expenses of management were defrayed by the voluntary subscription of frequenters. The functions of the committee were from the first, as they have since remained, "judicial as regards the settlement of disputed bargains, and administrative as regards rules for the general conduct of business, and for the liquidation of defaulters' accounts."

Early in 1801 the rooms were felt to be inadequate for the increased business arising out of the war loans, and, moreover, "it became apparent that the indiscriminate admission of the public was calculated to expose the dealers to the loss of valuable property." This led to the establishment of a strict and privileged monopoly, resembling in some respects that of the law—brokers corresponding to solicitors and jobbers to barristers. A group of Stock Exchange men, having acquired "a central situation," or site, in Capel Court, raised a capital of £20,000 in 400 shares of £50 each and founded a new institution, to which the affairs of the old rooms were ultimately transferred. The first stone of the new building was laid in May

1801. A committee for general purposes, consisting of thirty proprietors, was formed, who elected members of the new Stock Exchange by ballot, at a subscription of ten guineas each. The deed of settlement (March 27, 1802) recites that, whereas the Stock Exchange in Threadneedle Street, where the stock-jobbers and stock-brokers met, had been found inconvenient, W. Hammond and others had secured a site, and had "caused to be erected a spacious building for the transacting of buying and selling the public stocks or funds of this kingdom." By the same deed the management, regulations, and direction of the new Stock Exchange were vested in a committee consisting of thirty members, or subscribers, to be chosen annually by ballot on March 25, while the treasuryship and management of the building were placed under the sole direction of nine trustees and managers (separate from the committee) as representatives of the proprietors. By this deed of settlement the London Stock Exchange was governed till 1876, when a new deed (substantially reproducing the original deed) was executed. The new Stock Exchange was opened in March 1802, with a list of about 500 subscribers. The regulations of the

committee, whose main purpose was to ensure the prompt and regular adjustment of all transactions, were first codified and printed in 1812. They have, of course, been amended and enlarged from time to time to meet the new conditions and expansion of business.

The constitution of the Stock Exchange remains substantially unaltered, being still vested in two bodies—the managers and the committee, the former representing the shareholders or proprietors, and the latter the members or subscribers. The nine managers (who are elected in threes for five years by the shareholders) fix the charges for admission of new members and appoint most of the officials, excepting, of course, the secretary to the committee. They also look after the building.¹ The committee, on the other hand, control all Stock Exchange business, and administer the rules and regulations; they adjudicate all questions between, and complaints against, members. They inquire, and decide, whether their rules have been complied with by governments and companies which ask for settlements or for official quotation of their stocks in the Stock Exchange

¹ There are 20,000 shares (£12 paid) in the Stock Exchange and £416,700 debentures outstanding.

List. Their number is thirty, and they are elected every year by the members. At the beginning of their term the committee elect a Chairman and Vice-Chairman. They also elect every March, before they go out of office, all the old Stock Exchange members who wish to be re-elected, membership being granted for one year only. Any member can object to any other member being re-elected, but this is a very unusual incident. The great principle upon which the committee acts, and to which most of its regulations are directed, is the inviolability of contracts. It has power to suspend or expel any member for breaking its rules, or for non-compliance with its decisions, or for dishonourable conduct. A member of the London Stock Exchange is prohibited from advertising or from sending circulars to any but his own clients. He is also forbidden to belong to any other Stock Exchange, or "bucket shop," or other competing institution. New members are now compelled to become proprietors by acquiring at least one Stock Exchange share, paying a heavy entrance fee and an annual subscription of forty guineas. Yet the precautions against impecuniosity are inadequate. Defaults are far too common. The member-

ship of the Stock Exchange had risen to about 800 in 1845. In 1877 the members exceeded 2,000, and there were over 500 shareholders or proprietors. In 1910 the membership was 5,019. The average dividend on the shares of the Stock Exchange had been over 20 per cent. during the first seventy-five years of its existence; the dividend in 1909 was £10 a share. At first, as appears from the deed of settlement, the new Stock Exchange was confined to transactions in the funds. The jobbers in foreign stocks were excluded, and resorted mainly to the walks of the Royal Exchange. A certain amount of business in the funds continued for some time in the Rotunda of the Bank of England. Nor did the Alley men cease to ply their trade in the streets and coffee-houses. But after the close of the Napoleonic wars, foreign loans and mining and canal shares were introduced into the new Stock Exchange; and as all these offered higher rates of interest at a time when the yield on Government loans was falling, the Stock Exchange obtained a large accession of business from the speculative public. This led, it is stated, "to a proper apportionment of apartments for the dealing in English and foreign stocks." One room was

appropriated to British and another to foreign government stocks, and one corner of the foreign room was assigned to dealings in "the shares and scrip certificates of the numberless companies which from time to time have been introduced." The years 1824 and 1825 and 1826 saw a great outburst of speculation, which found vent in the flotation of many joint-stock projects as well as in an output of loans to the new republics of South America. This epoch will repay closer study. It marks the beginning of cosmopolitan finance, and even in a very rapid survey we can afford to pause and reflect upon occurrences which have been repeated or substantially reproduced at intervals in all parts of the world.

In "a complete view of joint-stock companies" formed in 1824 and 1825, the author, Henry English, enumerated 626 joint-stock projects which would have required for their fulfilment a capital of 872 millions sterling! Their objects were various and for the most part useful. Some companies were to be formed for insurance and investment; others for the construction of canals and railways. Many were to be local gas companies, and there were mining flotations of all sorts.

Between 1818 and 1832—and especially in 1824 and 1825—there were also issued in London quite a number of foreign loans—in all perhaps some 40 millions sterling were subscribed in this way. According to a parliamentary paper, foreign government loans to a nominal value of 34 millions were contracted for by London houses at 23 millions, while foreign mining companies and similar liabilities, with a deposit of 10 per cent. paid, amounted to 24 millions. A table before me gives twenty-six foreign government loans in all for the period 1818 to 1832, and shows that of these only ten continued to pay interest in 1837. Of the ten survivors several defaulted a little later. All the good loans (and some of the bad ones) were issued either by N. W. Rothschild or by T. Wilson & Co. Among the curiosities of the list one notices that Neapolitan credit was much better than Prussian; for while Rothschild floated a Prussian 5 per cent. loan in 1818 at 72, the Neapolitan Fives six years later fetched 92½. In 1825 Ricardo sold Greek Fives to the public at 56½. In 1821 Haldimand issued a Spanish 5 per cent. loan at 56, and two years later J. Campbell & Co. issued another at 30½! London was badly

hit by the Spanish American Republics. In 1824 Baring Brothers contrived to issue £1,000,000 Buenos Ayres Sixes at 85. Colombia actually raised, at 6 per cent., nearly 7 millions sterling of nominal debt, and at prices ranging from 84 to 88½. Questioned afterwards as to the causes of the boom and of the crisis which succeeded, a Governor of the Bank of England said he thought the speculative movement was started by the conversion and reduction of Government 5 per cents. in 1823. These reductions "prompted almost everybody to entertain any proposition for investment, however absurd." The excitement, he thought, "was further promoted by the acknowledgment of South American Republics by this country, and the inducements held to those governments, in which all classes of the community in England seem to have engaged simultaneously." One foreign mining company was described later at its winding-up as "one of the projects ventured in a period when it was thought the golden age had been realised, and when, without a proper consideration for the consequences, the public too eagerly encouraged the schemes of the day." Commercial credit and the exchanges were at the same time disturbed

by speculation in iron and other raw materials; and finally a crisis was precipitated by the failure of Messrs. Pole & Co., an important London house with large country connections. The strain must have been enormous; for according to James Wilson, the first editor and proprietor of the *Economist*, the total subscribed (*i. e.* promised) for foreign loans, mines, etc., in 1824-5 was 48 millions, and for home railways, banks, and other projects 126 millions, on which altogether only 35 millions were paid up! No wonder that a crash came.

After a decade of depression and quiescence, when stock and share speculation took a new start in connection with railways, the "little go" for the sale of letters of allotment was held in the Royal Exchange before the merchants assembled, until at last the swarms of the "little go" or "Alley men" became such a nuisance that the beadles had to drive them out. In the height of this speculation, it is recorded—such was the distrust of steam locomotion—some of the "dabblers" made a price of one farthing per share for 50 shares of what afterwards turned out to be one of the most important of English railways. In the boom years of 1834-6, joint-stock companies with a total capital of 135 millions were

formed, divided into more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ million shares. New railway companies accounted for over 69 millions of capital with 590 thousand shares, banks for 23 millions capital and 670 thousand shares. Allowing an average of £3 for deposit on each share, the total sums raised were only just over $7\frac{1}{4}$ millions. The market recovered slowly from this output of liabilities. But in the course of time the importance and profit-making capacity of the new iron roads began more and more to fill the public mind. The first railway boom was fairly launched in 1834-5. Within twelve months over 600 distinct projects for railway lines in the United Kingdom were placed before the public, demanding upwards of six hundred millions of money. But as five or six competing companies often asked parliamentary powers for practically the same line, the real capital required was very much smaller. The actual capital of the British lines, which were incorporated by statute in 1844-5 and were in course of construction, was only 55 millions. Foreign railroad schemes also poured in from all quarters eager for British capital, and these again would have absorbed from seventy to a hundred millions sterling. As might have been supposed these projects,

actual and anticipatory, led to a great demand for, and a still greater speculation in, iron, which more than doubled in price and so magnified the difficulties occasioned by the inadequacy of available capital and credit. Ten years later, in a warning article as to the probability of another crisis on the analogy of the previous one, which appeared in the *Economist* in October 1845, the promotions and flotations of the three periods of speculation were thus compared and summarised in millions sterling :—

Home Schemes.		Foreign.	Total.	Paid up and Deposits.
1824-5	156	48	204	35
1834-7	129	21	150	22
1844-5	612	79	691	78

At the time when this account was made up the premiums on railways, which had not yet secured an Act of Parliament, could not be estimated at less than 40 millions, which represented "increased wealth hanging on opinion." Mr. Wilson's warning forecasts proved correct, and the Stock Exchange panics and liquidations, which took place in the late autumn and winter of 1845-6, culminated in the money panic and banking crisis of October 1847.

. An anonymous but well-informed writer

affords us a glimpse of the Stock Exchange in 1845, at the height of the railway boom :—

“The share market, which, till within the last two years, was occupied with four or five distinct brokers and a number of jobbers, whose means of business were very small, has now become the grand focus of speculation and legitimate business. English and foreign government securities are quite deserted for the superior attractions of English and foreign Railway scrip, which, of all shades and character, has been freely distributed throughout the United Kingdom.

“The broker and jobbers who had the first ‘pick’ of the market, must have made considerable sums by their commissions; since the other brokers and jobbers, who paid more attention to the other public securities, were almost discarded by their former customers, who, in many cases, were led to believe that the ‘English and Foreign Stock’ broker and jobber could not transact share business. Indeed, it appears to have been some time before the veil of mystery was removed, or that the public arrived at a clear understanding of the subject. In the meanwhile the old and respectable members of the House had the mortification to see persons, who

formerly had been of little reputation on the Exchange, and in many instances even their own clerks, carrying on an extensive and profitable business in shares; and as long as this lasted there was no end to the success of those who had the sway of the market. Gradually dealings were dispersed and spread among the whole of the fraternity, and then followed the height of speculation, engendered by the general operations of the chief part of the community. The shares of every new company coming out at a premium, induced rich and poor to thrust themselves into the market; and the schemes that are every day resorted to in order to gain possession of letters of allotment which may bring a price, if the shares be paid on, are of the most multifarious, and, in many instances, fraudulent description.

“Such has been the increase of business in consequence of the speculation in shares that the accounts which used formerly to occupy not more than one or two days at the outside, nearly exhaust the week, before differences can be paid, transfers made, and the books of the brokers regularly adjusted. The extent of the transactions has increased beyond measure; night and day clerks are

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engaged in arranging sales and purchases, and conducting the correspondence which is required between their masters and principals.

"Innumerable instances are stated of persons, who a few months ago were not worth anything, having made their thousands of pounds, and several of these are junior members of the House, who were fortunate enough to deal in those shares which have attained high premiums. Considering the time and attention required in share business, the brokers do not get too well paid; although there may be every reason to suppose that many are obtaining immense incomes from it by the inordinate influx of commissions. This will, we think, be seen when we state that the principal [part] of the business being transacted in the new scrip, upon which not more than £1 to £3 has been paid, they only realise the small commission of 1s. 3d. per share. If they buy or sell largely of Brighton, Birmingham and Grand Junction, they get the larger commission; but these descriptions have not been dealt in to any comparable extent with the issues of the new companies. Brighton and South Eastern have undergone considerable fluctuation during the mania; but then, as the business was

in a few hands, it cannot be supposed to have extended its beneficial influence over the whole market."

Some fortunate brokers were said to have made £3,000 and £4,000 a day by their business, but not, of course, by commissions. By lucky speculations they might easily have made much larger amounts. One fortunate individual outside the House, who held largely of Churnett Valley scrip before the announcement of the sanction of the Board of Trade to the project, "sold at the best price of the market when the announcement was made, and netted by his one *coup* £27,000." Very large sums were made and lost in London and York, and Direct Northern—two of the leading "fancies" which were dealt in more for speculation than investment.

The number of American and foreign lines introduced on the London Stock Exchange added to the excitement prevailing. But, compared with the madness of 1825 and 1826, there was this much to be said for the railway mania of 1844-5—viz. that the new lines were undertakings of vast utility and national importance, and though viewed at first with much jealousy and distrust, were already producing results which the most sanguine

had never counted on. Consequently, writes one sober critic, speculation in railway shares was encouraged not only as an investment likely to yield high rates of interest, but also for the benefit it confers on mankind at large. "The feasibility of the numerous schemes, and the elements of success they present, have, under these circumstances, raised an unanimous feeling in their favour, which, sanctioned as they have been by Government superintendence and Government interference, could not but contribute to feed the growing desire of the public to embark in them. The warnings that have been given have, therefore, not been regarded, and the mania has gone on to an extent almost unprecedented even by the great South Sea bubble itself."

The following criticism made by the same writer in 1845 was fully justified by events:—

"The feasibility of the greater number of the schemes brought before the public has encouraged the example of starting competing lines; while, in addition, foreign projects of the most questionable description have come out, the shares of which have maintained high premiums for a few days, and have then sunk into utter worthlessness.

Among all this incongruous mass there must be part that will ripen to decay; and hence, while the stability of the system itself is acknowledged, it is that stability which has fostered many of the sham companies of the present day. When the crash does come it will be terrible. The best of the securities will feel it for a time, though restoration to a proper value will, no doubt, follow when the market shall have settled down and the web of ephemeral speculation be cleared away."

It is interesting to learn from the same source that the swindling and blundering which marked the flotation and management of British railways in those early days were gradually corrected by the criticisms of a few honest and competent journals.

Morier Evans, the historian of the crisis of 1847-8, compared the prices of certain railway securities in the height of the boom (August 1845) and the depth of the depression (October 1848). Thus in August 1845, Great Western rose to 236, and fell in October 1848 to 65½; London and North-Western rose to 254 and fell to 99; Midland rose to 183 and fell to 64. Northern of France rose to 7¾ and fell to 5¾. Scandals of all kinds surrounded the promotion of our railways.

Extortionate sums were paid for worthless land. The financiers, the lawyers and all concerned had such pickings and perquisites that we can hardly understand (even after allowing for the good work of the critics) how the main English lines emerged with their finances on a basis so much sounder than similar undertakings in many other countries.

Capital was collected from all parts of the country, and the transactions in railway shares were so voluminous and universal that the ordinary channels were quite inadequate. Clerks at small salaries in banks and merchants' counting-houses openly proclaimed themselves buyers and sellers of the various favourite shares, just as if they represented their employers. Not only in London, but in Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, Glasgow, Dublin, Hull, Edinburgh and Bristol, railway share markets were established, and the business of the City was for a time equalled if not surpassed by the provinces. As an anxious contemporary put it on the eve of the crisis:—"The farmer is now as deep in railway shares as the merchant, the merchant as the banker; and the whole circle of society is entangled in the mania."

The long list of failures that occurred in

1847 and 1848 attests the correctness of this analysis. But with every succeeding decade the stability of our banks and merchant houses and of all our financial institutions has steadily grown with the increasing wealth and intelligence of the nation. In the pages of Bagehot and other writers we may read of a strain on credit which caused extraordinary measures to be taken by the Bank of England in 1857 as a result of the American panic, and again (for the last time) in 1866, after the failure of Overend Gurney. The Baring Crisis of 1890 was brought about by over-confidence in the pace at which Argentina's potential wealth would be developed and exploited by British capital. In the two previous years over 60 millions of British capital had been lent to Argentina, but in midsummer 1890 a loan of 5 millions for the Argentine Government missed fire. A revolution and a run on the banks followed. Mr. Burn says: "The fall in South American securities was very heavy, and the situation from August to October was very delicate. There was a decided under-current of opinion that several houses, notably Baring's, had dangerously increased their acceptances." At the weekly meeting, on Thursday, Nov. 6, of the Directors of the

Bank of England the Bank rate was unaltered, though the reserves stood at only 11 millions; but on the following day it was unexpectedly raised to 6 per cent., and the Stock Exchange began to be alarmed. However, the settlement on the following Tuesday passed off without trouble. But on the Wednesday three banks were reported to be in difficulties. On Thursday it was learned that the Bank of France had lent 3 millions of gold to the Bank of England; on Friday a meeting was held at the Bank to consider the affairs of Messrs. Barings, and on Saturday (Nov. 15) it was definitely announced that a scheme had been carried through to enable them to meet their liabilities. The firm's liabilities, which amounted to 21 millions sterling, were liquidated in the course of four years; and the effects of this suppressed crisis remained for a long time.

A speculative recovery was powerfully stimulated by the wonderful discoveries and skilful exploitation of the Rand mines in the Transvaal by cosmopolitan groups of financiers, among whom Cecil Rhodes was the most popular figure. This Napoleon of Cape Town and Kimberley became the hero of our Stock Exchange. Skilfully blending finance and politics, he for a long time worked in alliance

with the Dutch party at the Cape, keeping on good terms with the Boers, and simultaneously by a handsome contribution to Parnell's funds he contrived to secure Irish Nationalist assistance for the Chartered Company. Nevertheless his reputation in London was that of an empire-builder. The Press fell under his sway, and the London Stock Exchange responded enthusiastically to all the financial schemes, good, bad and indifferent, of the new South African leader and his fellow magnates. But the enormous fortunes made in the nineties under the Kruger *régime* did not satisfy. Those who had received much wanted more. Those who had shorn one flock of investing lambs wanted to shear another. Those who had become millionaires on a sudden objected to pay any toll whatever to the Government, and conceived the idea of turning out the Boers and of so producing another Kaffir boom which would raise their wealth beyond the utmost dreams of human avarice. In pursuance of this plan fictions of all sorts were circulated. Old President Kruger, obstinate and unenlightened, but a quite human mixture of shrewdness and stupidity, virtue and vice, was represented as a monster of tyranny and corruption. The strength and

courage of the Boer farmers were made light of, and Rhodes even assured the British Government (then embarked on a policy of interference) that the Boers could not shoot. It may be doubtful how far the Cabinet really meant to go, and how far it drifted into an avoidable catastrophe through mere mishandling of the negotiations. But, whether deliberate or accidental, certain it is that the war proved more disastrous to the London Stock Exchange and the interests of the City than any event which had taken place since the failure of Overend Gurney. A military promenade, which was to have been over in a month or two, resulted in three years of stubborn and anxious warfare. The total cost, which was estimated by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in October 1899, at 10 millions, to be defrayed by a levy on the gold mines, eventually came to about 250 millions, every penny of which was contributed by British loans and British taxes. For a moment, at the outbreak of the war, Transvaal mining shares rose, but as soon as the idea of a promenade vanished, and a long prospect of difficult and costly operations opened out they began to droop, and fell to lower and lower depths as the war dragged

on. Consols followed the same movement as Kaffirs. They had receded partly as a result of increasing expenditure and diminishing Sinking Fund, partly through fear of war, from a top price of 118 in 1898 to about 104 at the outbreak of hostilities. But the "Khaki" $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. loan in the spring of 1900 was raised with enthusiasm, showing that the public believed in a speedy ending of the war and a substantial indemnity from the mines. When the Milner policy of unconditional surrender was at last abandoned, and the peace of Vereeniging signed, Consols and Kaffirs rallied. But it was only a short and feverish flicker of speculative purchases, which collapsed under heavy liquidation. The mining industry had been temporarily ruined, the cost of living had risen, the native labour had dispersed, a strange mixture of luxury, waste, misery, disease, plunder and demoralisation had dislocated the social organism and the mechanism of business. Many of the promoters and speculators who had been most eager for the war were ruined. All the mining houses connected with the Rand suffered severely, nor did they recoup their losses by the costly experiment of importing Chinese coolies.

A declension of Consols by 20 per cent. was

proportionate to the increase of supply; for the National Debt was enlarged by 160 millions sterling in order to meet the extraordinary expenditure on the war. For four or five years the Sinking Fund was practically or actually suspended, and when, under the firm financial guidance of Mr. Asquith, the reduction of Debt was vigorously renewed at an unparalleled rate, the decline of national credit was checked rather than arrested; for the enormous cost of the Russo-Japanese War had drained many millions of British and French capital into the new 5 and 6 per cent. bonds of these two combatants. In fact the public debts of the world, along with wars, armaments and taxation, have expanded in the first ten years of the twentieth century more rapidly than the effective demand for them. Possibly—and if some limitation of armaments can be arranged, probably—the decline of gilt-edged securities may now cease and a substantial recovery commence. For British Consols to yield more than 3 per cent. in time of peace and prosperous trade is certainly abnormal. But then the scope of trustee securities was extended by some 300 millions in 1900 for the benefit of our colonies, and the growth of armaments in a dozen years by 80 millions sterling represents each year

an economic waste equivalent to what our grandfathers would have considered a very formidable and costly war.

The effect of the Kaffir boom in England was to create a new and very popular field for speculative investment. The House rapidly expanded, and the mining section suddenly bulged out into the Kaffir Circus, which after hours filled Throgmorton Street with wild and noisy confusion. The slump was disastrous and protracted. The losses in Chartered shares and in many of the inferior mines of the Transvaal and of Rhodesia have never been recovered, but in the last three or four years the intrinsic merits of the Rand mines, the reconciliation and union of South Africa, and a great improvement in the labour supply have contributed to restore values to the Kaffir market and animation to the Kaffir Circus. But Consols, gilt-edged securities of all kinds, home, colonial and foreign, British railways, bank and insurance shares, breweries, and many other industrial securities have all exhibited, as the direct or indirect consequence of the Boer War, falls of from 10 to 50 per cent. The loss of capital and credit caused by such a shrinkage cannot be computed; but every banker and cambist in London knows how much London's prestige

and influence as the headquarters of international money and exchange were shaken. If those who made the war had been allowed to make a tariff, the greatest emporium, the greatest shipping, broking and banking centre of the world would have been not only shaken but shattered. Grass would have grown in the port of London and in the streets of the City. Gradually the London warehouses would have emptied, the shipping of its port would have shrunk, the value of a bill on London would have disappeared, the London money market and the London stock markets would by degrees have yielded their proud supremacy — a supremacy founded upon a wise policy of political, economic, commercial and financial freedom. Instead of these disasters, thanks almost entirely to its freedom from tariffs and consequent monopoly of wholesale markets, London has now again strengthened its position as the importer and re-exporter of metals and raw materials of all kinds. And, thanks partly to this, partly to its vast supply of free and loanable capital, it has recently acquired complete command of the expanding market in rubber. With this control of the raw product, which is now governed by the sales in Mincing Lane, the acquisition and financial management

of the new plantations for the growth of "tame" rubber has naturally come to Great Britain. The rubber boom in the spring of 1910 may fairly be represented as the harvest which English and Scottish financiers and brokers have reaped as a result of free markets and unimpeded trade.

Another episode in the history of the London Stock Exchange—the American crisis and panic of 1907—may conveniently be deferred to later chapters.

It remains to say a few words as to the rules of the London Stock Exchange, and its methods of doing business. The feature which distinguishes it from provincial, colonial and foreign Exchanges is the division of functions between brokers and jobbers, a division which seems to go back to its foundation. The jobber works on the floor of the House, and deals only with the broker. The broker takes orders from the outside public and buys from or sells to the jobber. Thus the broker feeds the jobber much as the solicitor feeds the barrister. The broker takes his commission and the jobber his turn. The working of the system is very simple, and may be illustrated by a simple example. Jones, an investor, sees that Consols stand at about 79. He determines to buy £1,000 nominal, *i. e.* to

spend £790. So he tells his broker Smith to buy him that amount at the best price obtainable. Smith goes from his broker's office into the House and makes his way to the group of jobbers who deal in the Consol market. He finds Robinson and asks him the price of Consols. Robinson replies $78\frac{1}{2}$ -79, meaning that he will buy at $78\frac{1}{2}$ and sell at 79. Smith buys from him at 79, and the bargain is complete. Smith sends a contract note to Jones which runs as follows:—

£1000 Consols at 79	..	£790
Contract Stamp	..	2s.
Commission $\frac{1}{8}$..	£1 5 0

Jones sends a cheque for £791 7s., which expressly includes the broker's commission, and also in reality includes the jobber's remuneration. This system, with its division of functions, is very good for active securities in which there are numerous transactions. In such cases the separate existence of jobbers makes for a free market and close prices. There is no place in the world where good stocks are more easily and quickly realisable at a minimum of loss, or purchasable so near the market price, as on the London Stock Exchange. For this and other reasons it receives a vast amount of American and foreign

orders, and its official list is the largest and the most international in the world. But the investor should note that a quotation in the official list does not mean, in the case of securities seldom dealt in, that your broker can at any time get a jobber to deal in the stock at the nominal or quoted price. And when there is a slump in a market and a rush of selling orders with no support, as happened in rubber shares in the months of June and July 1910, the jobbers are apt to be away at lunch all day, and the brokers have to report to their clients that they simply cannot find a purchaser.

It should be added that London Stock Exchange brokers are not allowed to advertise. They may only send circulars to their own clients. The first business, therefore, of an English investor is to find a good broker. He will then be protected in all his transactions by the rules and regulations of the London Stock Exchange. Or if he lives in a large provincial town with a Stock Exchange of its own, he may prefer to do business with one of its members—a local broker. In that case he will probably be just as well served. What he must avoid like the plague is the outsider who offers to sell him rubbish shares charging no commission.

CHAPTER III

LONDON'S FOREIGN MARKET AND THE FOREIGN BOURSES

A SPECIAL chapter will be dedicated to Wall Street and the American market; for they stand in magnificent isolation from the rest of the world, always excepting Canada and Mexico. No doubt, as the population grows and the pioneering or buccaneering instinct finds itself cramped by the want of new territories at home to explore or exploit, the interest of American finance in foreign affairs tends to expand. At present this expansion is felt mainly in two directions—eastwards towards China and Japan, southwards through Mexico to Panama and the Spanish republics. But such is the banking and economic supremacy of England that a citizen of the United States finds it most convenient to visit Argentina or Brazil *via* London, and many of the products of South America are shipped to London before they reach their

ultimate destination in New York or Boston or Philadelphia. It is the same with Exchange transactions. The bill on London still reigns supreme. Besides, the United States is still a borrower rather than a lender, which, in itself, explains why there is practically no foreign market on the New York Stock Exchange. British consols, German and Russian bonds, French rentes are unquoted because they are not wanted. Even the New York railway market is purely American with the exception of lines like the Canadian Pacific or the Mexican Group, which connect with the American system. Thus London's financial relations with the world in general are distinguished from its relations with America, and this distinction is accurately reflected by the London Stock Exchange. The groups of jobbers who deal in foreign bonds and foreign railways stand quite apart from the American crowd.

The causes that have attracted foreign merchants and speculators to London from the time of the Romans, well deserve detailed examination. The economic historian might show how admirably the estuary of the Thames was adapted for commerce with all the northern ports of Europe, and how, after

the discovery of America, the capital of England was almost bound to be the centre of the commercial world. Our insular security and our rich resources of coal and iron enabled us to take full advantage of the inventions which revolutionised manufactures, transport, and exchange between 1750 and 1850. British shipping and British manufactures, though small in comparison with modern ideas, were large in comparison with their rivals. In capital, credit, currency, and the art of banking, London got the start and kept it. Necessitous foreign Governments and corporations began to look to London houses, like those of Rothschild and Baring, to supply their small, but growing, demands for capital. Sixty years ago, indeed, Paris was still a formidable rival in finance, and the United States in shipping. But just at this critical moment England adopted the policy of a free market for gold and all commodities. A sound currency and an almost perfect banking system were firmly established at the same time that perfect freedom of importing and exporting was given to the whole nation. In the course of a few years all protective duties, and all duties upon exports such as coal and machinery were entirely

removed. Our trade advanced by leaps and bounds. British shipping expanded at such a rate that before the end of the century it actually represented, and still represents, roughly, half the world's mercantile marine. The United States, after the Civil War, adopted an exactly opposite policy of restriction. Prices were artificially raised. The high tariff wall, which was erected to exclude foreign competition, raised the cost of production. American manufacturers were unable to compete in neutral markets, and the American mercantile marine, which had threatened to rival and outdistance ours, dwindled into insignificance. Meanwhile, on the Continent, Germany forged ahead under the stimulus of the Zollverein, which swept away all the petty tariffs that had isolated and impoverished its kingdoms and duchies. A fairly liberal policy, aided by the adoption of a gold standard, allowed German commerce to grow rapidly, and London benefited enormously by the increasing wealth of Hamburg and Berlin. France clung to the bimetallic system, which prevented her great stores of gold and capital from playing their full part in international operations.

In Bagehot's *Lombard Street* the retro-

spective eye may see how London had become, in the seventies, the great centre for the investment of capital and for the diffusion of credit. With the suspension of specie payments by the Bank of France during the Franco-German War, its use as a reservoir of specie came to an end. "No one can draw a cheque on it and be sure of getting gold or silver for that cheque. Accordingly, the whole liability for such international payments in cash is thrown on the Bank of England." Eight years after Bagehot wrote these words—in 1878—the Bank of France resumed specie payments. But it could not recover its position as a European settling house. And, as every banker and cambist knows, the stock of gold at Paris and Berlin is not accessible, because the Bank of France can exercise an option to pay in silver at the old conventional ratio, and the Bank of Germany can practically prevent gold payments when they appear inconvenient. Thus, by a concurrence of natural and fortuitous circumstances with the restrictive and artificial regulations imposed by potential rivals, the number of international bills drawn on London incalculably surpasses those drawn upon other centres. It is the greatest shop, the greatest

store, the freest market for commodities, gold and securities, the greatest disposer of capital, the greatest dispenser of credit, but above and beyond, as well as by reason of all these marks of financial and commercial supremacy, it is the world's clearing house. The wealth which it thus acquires and disposes is vaster far than in the days of Bagehot, when the London Money Market was usually dependent on the Bank of England. Now, in normal times, it can finance itself. In Bagehot's time the output of capital issues or loans to British, foreign, and colonial borrowers would vary from twenty to thirty millions a year. In 1910 the figure went far above 200 millions. A single illustration may be given of London's banking power.

In 1908, after the great American panic, the United States Government appointed a Commission to suggest monetary and banking reforms. The Commissioners came over to Europe and made close inquiries. Their interviews with leading bankers in London, Paris and Berlin, which have lately been published, constitute an invaluable accumulation of ascertained facts and authoritative opinions. At the Bank of England they learned how, in times of stress, its rate

dominates and controls all the money markets and gold-movements of the world. The crisis which broke out in New York, in October 1907, was the most formidable of its kind ever known. There had never been such an enormous demand for gold ; yet the drain was successfully met, and practically all that the American banks required was supplied in a few weeks from London without any dangerous depletion of the Bank's reserve. On October 31st the total bullion held by the Bank was 31 millions, and the Bank rate was raised to $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. On November 4th it was raised to 6 per cent., and on November 7th to 7 per cent., the total bullion held being 28 millions. This rate proved effective, and from that time the inflow of gold from abroad exceeded the outflow to New York, so that on December 11th the total bullion was 34 millions. Gold came to London from twenty-four countries, including British colonies ; and by the end of January, when the rate had been gradually reduced to 4 per cent., the Bank of England's stock of gold had risen to 38 millions sterling.

With this supremacy as bullion broker and arbiter of credit, as disposer of cash for short periods and lender of capital to

foreign and colonial borrowers, it is no wonder that London through its Stock Exchange should provide the world's principal market in foreign securities. Paris, of course, has its specialities. It is financier-in-chief to Russia, Spain, and Turkey. But the London Stock Exchange list of foreign securities has no rival. Hardly a country, from the gilt-edged rentes of France to the comparatively worthless paper of Honduras, whose stocks are not dealt in freely from day to day by the leading jobbers of our foreign market. Their observation, "with extensive view, surveys mankind from China to Peru."

The taste of the British public for investment abroad has grown rapidly with the increasing overflow of our surplus capital. Perhaps we are a little too much inclined to trust the foreigner. Certainly there is often a want of discrimination. A bond yielding $4\frac{1}{2}$ or 5 per cent., with a fairly strong power like Japan or a prosperous country like Argentina, or a promising railway behind it, may be pretty safe; but for the sake of an extra 1 per cent. a certain type of investor is willing to run a serious risk of losing his capital in some dishonest municipality, or discredited government, or in a company

formed abroad for the very purpose of defrauding him. Many persons who read these pages may probably have received ingenious circulars suggesting that risks can be avoided by a geographical distribution of capital, and that in this way a high yield can be secured without danger. It is at first sight a taking fallacy. But a single question will discover and expose it. How can four rotten companies, located, let us say, in Brazil, Costa Rica, Portugal and Russia be made less rotten by the fact that they are widely separated?

Our markets for foreign bonds and foreign railway securities stand, of necessity, in close connection with the foreign bourses on which the same or allied securities are quoted. In some cases, where the credit of a country rests almost entirely on its credit in London, the tone of the London market will dominate the tone of the domestic bourses. The distribution of British capital is a subject which more properly belongs to a later chapter. But it should here be plainly stated that our foreign trade and the supremacy of the London Stock Exchange in international stocks depend mainly upon our exports of capital. Thus London holds a great part of the external debt of Japan, and the price of Japanese

bonds depends, therefore, mainly upon London's judgment of Japan's financial strength at any given time. The internal bonds are mainly held in Japan, yield a higher rate of interest, and stand on a more independent footing. Again, the great Argentine railways are British companies, with their head offices in London, so that London is the principal, if not the sole market, for their bonds and shares. The external debt of the Argentine Government is also held mainly in London, where, in fact, the greater part of it has been issued at various times by Barings and other London houses.

British investments in Argentina—Government debt, railways, land companies, ranches, etc.—run to several hundred millions sterling. Smaller, but still important, are our holdings in Brazil, Chili, Peru, and Mexico. The London house of Rothschild is the agent and guardian of Brazilian finance, a delicate and difficult task. The instability of the Latin republics of South America is proverbial. Upon the whole, the Governments of Argentina and Chili enjoy the best credit, but the security of a good Argentine or Brazilian railroad is often preferred to that of the Government, and is certainly

superior to the credit of municipal or provincial securities, among which there have been many defaulters. It is hardly possible to speak of "investment" in Central America. At present, any one who buys the paper of those States is a mere speculator. Bankruptcy and repudiation are the rule, payment of interest the exception. Even in South America, a public authority which has not within the last thirty years repudiated its debt or compounded with its creditors is a rare exception. No doubt, as civilisation advances and trade expands, South America gradually becomes a safer and safer field for the investment of savings. But the utmost care should be exercised, especially when seductive offers of (unmarketable) bonds are received through the post. It is essential that the security should be quoted on the London Stock Exchange, but even then the price quoted may be an old one at which it is easy to buy, but impossible to sell. The amateur investor should make a selection, and then consult a good broker on the London Stock Exchange as to present prices and prospects.

After the Stock Exchange of London, that

of Paris stands next as an international factor, because, after London, Paris has the greatest amount of disposable capital both in the short and the long loan market. The annual overflow of British savings into foreign and colonial investments may now perhaps reach 200 millions sterling; the average overflow of French savings is perhaps a quarter of that sum. For their size, Holland and Belgium contribute freely, but Germany requires most of her savings for home investment, and the United States still consumes more new capital than it produces.

The French divide their bourses into two kinds—commercial exchanges (*bourses de commerce*) and stock exchanges (*bourses des valeurs*). Their history goes back to mediæval times, but the clearly marked division between the two is comparatively modern. The merchandise brokers, who operate on the commercial exchanges, are called *courtiers en marchandises*. The operators on stock exchanges are called *agents de change*. Under the old *régime* both professions were monopolised, and both were thrown open after the Revolution. The merchandise brokers are still free, but after various changes the French stock-broker is now again a privileged person

with exclusive rights, not only to trade in government and other officially quoted securities, but also to negotiate bills of exchange and similar instruments of credit. The stock-brokers of Paris number only seventy, and form a close corporation under Government control. The provincial bourses, of which Lyons, Bourdeaux, Marseilles, Lille, and Nantes are the most important, are very similarly organised.

According to M. Vidal, the author of a brilliant study on this subject, the monopoly of stock-brokers and the privileges of the Paris Bourse rest upon legislation of 1807 and 1816. A stock-broker really owns an office under Government, which holds from him a bond for 125,000 francs, on which he receives 4 per cent. When he withdraws from business he has a right to sell his office and transfer the bond to a successor whom he introduces to the Government. Year by year this monopoly of the stock-broker increases in value as business and commissions multiply. But the Government occasionally modifies conditions, as in 1898, when it increased the number of Paris stock-brokers from 60 to 70. At first, the Paris Bourse was forbidden to quote foreign securities, but this prohibition

was removed in 1823. But many securities are not quoted in the official list of the Paris Bourse, either because the stock-brokers (possibly under Government inspiration) have not chosen to admit them, or because they do not fulfil statutory conditions. Such securities, however, may be, and often are, dealt in on the coulisse, which may be described as the curb market, so called because in former times the bankers and coulissiers thronged a narrow passage called *La Coulisse*. Anybody may become a coulissier, or outside broker, who likes to pay the licence duty. And while dealings in French rentes are by law restricted to the stock-brokers who deal on the parquet, a market in these exists and is tolerated on the coulisse, though the transactions of coulissiers in these securities are not recognised by courts of law.

Among foreign bourses, from this international standpoint of the foreign market, Paris stands easily first in power and resources. The capital exports of France have long been on a substantial scale, and consequently its holdings of foreign securities are very large. It is, of course, *the* great market for Russian bonds; it holds most of the Spanish, Portuguese, and Turkish debt, and has considerable

amounts of capital invested in Egypt, Tunis, Roumania, Greece, and South America. According to a skilful but perhaps exaggerated valuation of M. Alfred Neymarck, the foreign securities now held by French capitalists (Government bonds included) exceed 32 billion francs, say £1,300,000,000, distributed in round figures as follows:—

Foreign French Investments by Countries.	Francs.
1 Russia	9,500,000,000
2 Spain and Portugal	3,500,000,000
3 Egypt and Suez Canal	3,500,000,000
4 Roumania and Greece	3,500,000,000
5 Argentine, Brazil and Mexico	2,750,000,000
6 Tunis and French Colonies	2,500,000,000
7 Austria and Hungary	2,000,000,000
8 Italy	1,150,000,000
9 China and Japan	1,000,000,000
10 United States and Canada	750,000,000
11 Great Britain	500,000,000
12 Belgium and Holland	500,000,000
13 Germany	500,000,000
14 Turkey, Servia and Bulgaria	500,000,000
15 Switzerland	500,000,000
Total	32,650,000,000

At the end of 1910 M. Neymarck raised his aggregate to 35 billion francs. If, then, we

take Mr. Paish's not ungenerous estimate of £3,500,000,000 as the round figure total of British investments abroad the French aggregate is considerably more than one-third of the British. It is roughly equal to the French national and municipal debt; for there are 26 billion francs of 3 per cent. rentes, and 6 or 7 millions of municipal and other lottery bonds, nearly all held by French investors. M. Neymarck further estimates that in normal years the French people put aside in savings about £70,000,000, of which a variable fraction goes abroad. This seems small compared with British capital investments (amounting this year to 250 millions sterling), which, of course, only represent a portion of our national savings; but it is a very large sum compared with other countries. Germany's wealth is probably increasing more rapidly than that of France, but its annual surplus is usually absorbed by the requirements of the Imperial and State Governments and of the municipalities, whose debts have been increasing at a prodigious rate, as well as by the demands of a trade which is largely carried on on credit. Hence it is that the great Stock Exchanges of Germany—Berlin, Hamburg and Frankfurt—are

almost entirely concerned with imperial, state and municipal loans, with German bank-shares and German "industrials." But as the banks and industrial companies have branches in many foreign countries—the whole world swarms with German commercial travellers—a very large amount of German capital must be employed abroad, more especially in Russia, Scandinavia, Italy, the Low Countries and South America. The total German capital employed abroad has been variously estimated at from 500 to 1,000 millions sterling. But there are no accurate figures. Berlin operators often speculate heavily in London. The Berlin Bourse consists of two departments, the Stock Exchange and the Produce Exchange, and both are supervised by the Chamber of Commerce. The Stock Exchange had 1,329 members in 1909; but over 3,000 other persons held cards of admission entitling them to go on the floor of the Stock and Produce Exchanges. In 1899 the Berlin Stock Exchange had 1,625 members. The figures for 1909 were the lowest since 1898. The Berlin Stock Exchange List is a four-page sheet, and it includes in its official quotations a large number of continental state loans, foreign railways, banks, etc. The Stock Exchanges

of Frankfurt and Hamburg are also of more than national importance. Big German loans are usually issued simultaneously by a "consortium" of banking houses in all the chief cities of the federated empire.

The Dutch people are very active speculators, particularly in oil companies and in inferior sorts of American railroad securities. The Amsterdam Bourse is in close communication with the London Stock Exchange. The Brussels Bourse looks to both Paris and London. Its speciality lies in tramway companies, of which it was the pioneer. It has established tramway systems with valuable concessions, or "street franchises," in all parts of the world. At Antwerp—a great and growing port and emporium—speculation is busy with raw products such as wool, rubber, and coffee. The free port of Hamburg is another huge emporium, and its trade breeds lively speculation in sugar, coffee, etc. But its Stock Exchange and money market play an important part, and a crisis in Hamburg is speedily visited upon Copenhagen, Stockholm, Helsingfors, and the old Hanseatic towns; for Hamburg is the chief employer of trading capital in the North Sea and the Baltic. Thus when Hamburg found it neces-

sary to contract credit and draw in loans after the American collapse of 1907, there followed a crop of banking failures in Copenhagen, as well as troubles in Stockholm. Russian trade is largely in the hands of Germany, and German is as much spoken as Russian in the bourse of St. Petersburg. Thanks to its high tariff, the manufactures, commerce, and navigation of Russia are controlled by monopolies and combinations, which have capitalised the tariff in much the same way as the more celebrated "Trusts" of the United States. The largest of these, "Prodameta" (from "prodet," to sell, and metal), has with its subsidiaries a capital of £18,000,000. There are similar combinations in coal, petroleum, and navigation.

But the Russian public has too little cash and too little enterprise to drive a great business in stocks and shares. Here, as elsewhere, the Russian Government's repressive policy makes itself felt. The "Birsha" of St. Petersburg is prohibited from dealing in non-Russian securities, and even the Russian banks are debarred from advancing money on foreign securities. Jews and foreigners are also prohibited from lending money on mortgage, with the result that first mortgages in

Russia have to be placed at 8 or 9 per cent. interest.

The St. Petersburg Bourse is much smaller than the Stock Exchanges of Glasgow, Manchester, or Liverpool, in so far as it has only 56 authorised brokers, who must be Russian subjects, and have a monopoly of dealings in Russian Government bonds. But any person introduced by a broker or banker may do business in the Birsha on payment of a half-yearly subscription, and a stranger may even be introduced for the day for a fee of one rouble. There is, therefore, a strange mixture of free trade and monopoly. The official list of the St. Petersburg Bourse contains about 500 securities, all Russian, the chief activity being in the shares of railways and banks. There is no business for the account, and there are no regular settlements. All stock sold must be paid for within one or, at most, two days.

The two principal bourses of Spain are in Madrid and Barcelona, and of late years Madrid has become the more important. But Spanish banking and finance are very largely French; for Paris still controls the principal railroads and banks of Spain. But Spanish capital is growing, and the people

are beginning to own a large and ever larger share of the public debt. British capital is mainly interested in mining and commercial enterprise, especially at Bilbao, Barcelona, Seville, and Juarez. Spain presents a close parallel with Italy. Few things are more remarkable in the last dozen years of European finance than the great upward movement of Spanish and Italian credit. In both cases the improvement may be traced to the abandonment of colonial aspirations. The costly wars of Italy in Somaliland and Abyssinia, and of Spain in Cuba and the Philippines, drained both exchequers. The currency depreciated and the national credit fell very low. In fact, in 1898 the mean price of Italian Fives was $91\frac{5}{8}$, and of Spanish Fours $46\frac{1}{8}$. Taking the years 1898 and 1907, and comparing the movements of European credit, we find a fall of 19 in British consols, of 6 in French Threes, and of 11 in German Threes, while Italian Fives rose 8, and Spanish Fours no less than 42 points.

Unfortunately, ten years of progress have been checked, in the case of Spain, by the Morocco War and the growth of internal troubles, in the case of Italy by an expensive military and naval rivalry with Austria.

Nevertheless the finances of Spain and Italy have made an extraordinary advance—all the more extraordinary by contrast with the general downward movement in gilt-edged stocks as well as in the best railway debentures during the last ten or twelve years.

The Italians have bought up their debt (chiefly held in France) with amazing rapidity, and are in a fair way to revive their mediæval prowess in international finance. The chief bourses of Italy are in Rome, Turin, Genoa, and Milan. An economic and Stock Exchange crisis occurred in 1899-1900, and again in 1907-8. Between those dates Stock Exchange values expanded, and the period of prosperity terminated in a great outburst of speculation. The boom began in January 1905, and culminated for a time in September. Then came a set back, but another rapid expansion followed, which terminated in March 1906. The most popular mania was for motor car company shares. The 25 lire shares of one company (the Fiat) were actually bought up to 2,300 lire—92 times the nominal price of issue. The company then subdivided its shares. In November 1906 the new 10 lire shares stood at 750. By October 1907 they had fallen to 80 lire, and by May 1908 to 34

lire. Turin was the principal market, and the speculative mania produced even more ridiculous excesses than the rubber share mania in England. What remained of the bubble was pricked in the autumn of 1907, by a sudden cessation of purchasing from the United States, when luxurious expenditure of all kinds was curtailed after the fall of the Knickerbocker Trust. The Stock Exchange securities of Italy consist, first, of the national debt, including the nationalised railways, second banks, third mines, fourth lighting companies, and, lastly, industrial companies of all kinds, representing a more or less watery capitalisation of the protective tariff.

More interesting to British investors than either Spain or Italy are the two great rival powers of the Far East, Japan and China. The rise of Japan, by a rapid adoption of Western methods, to the position of a strong military and naval power (culminating in its defeat first of China, and then of Russia) has, of course, been coincident with the creation of a very heavy debt and a deplorably heavy system of taxation. As Russia leaned upon Paris, so for their war with Russia the Japanese turned to London, where they contracted very

large loans mostly at 5 per cent. Since the conclusion of peace they have succeeded in keeping their expenditure within their income, and by very skilful finance have converted most of their debt to a $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. basis. The same speculative fever and spirit of commercial expansion, which pervaded Europe and America in 1906 and 1907, invaded Japan. The Stock Exchanges of Tokio and other large towns were scenes of great excitement, and when the American crash came, no country was more utterly prostrated than Japan, dependent as it is upon the United States market for its silk and other exports. A great many failures ensued. Banks closed their doors, and some German houses, which had introduced a system of long credits, came to grief. Attempts to introduce British capital into Japanese industrials have not been very successful, though some of the best Japanese bank shares have found favour. But a very large amount of Japanese debt is held in London, and the Japanese Government keeps ample floating balances on this side, knowing well how to support the market.

In quite recent years, with the suspension of borrowing by the Japanese Government,

the attention of English investors in the Far East has been directed mainly towards China, India, and the Malay States. The awakening of China has been very slow, but the pace has been marvellously quickened in the last decade. The sagacity and trustworthiness of the Chinese merchant, and the marvellous industry of a vast population, are the best securities of those who invest in the new railways. Against the honesty of the nation have to be placed the incapacity and corruption of the Government. There is grave danger that funds subscribed to the Government for railway loans may be misused or devoted to other purposes. But, after all, few countries can boast that they have been free from railway scandals, and there are grounds for thinking that great political reforms may ere long renovate the whole machinery of Chinese administration. The railways already built appear to be profitable, and now that a start has been made, it seems certain that this extraordinarily promising field will absorb and find profitable employment for a vast amount of British capital. There is no reason why, eventually, Chinese engineers should not become as competent as Chinese bankers and merchants; but

until the mysterious riddle of China has been a little further unravelled, the investor in Chinese loans must regard himself as something of a speculator who deserves a rather high interest in return for his risk. The Chinaman is not only a shrewd and competent business man: he is also a confirmed and incurable gambler. From time to time the Shanghai Stock Exchange becomes a scene of the wildest speculation, and it is safe to predict that, when a new China is evolved, Stock Exchanges will spring up in all the large towns, and China will become subject to vicissitudes and crises as violent as those which convulse the United States. Of this, a foretaste was afforded in the spring and summer of 1910, when Shanghai caught the rubber infection from London. All classes and races took part, but the native Chinaman plunged deepest. When the break in prices came, one Chinese operator was so heavily involved that, on his failure, many of the native banks had to suspend payment, with the result that for months the trade and credit of this great shipping and business centre were disorganised.

CHAPTER IV

WALL STREET

A FAR-SIGHTED and experienced operator, who lately retired from the New York Stock Exchange, has encouraged me to attempt a brief sketch of the American system (centred in New York) from the standpoint both of an investor and of a speculator. On the other side of the Atlantic, indeed, an adventurous element enters almost invariably into almost every investment, and Wall Street is the synonym for speculation. The Marble Stock Exchange of New York stands in Broad Street. But the great banks are in Wall Street. Wall Street is the nerve-centre of the richest and most speculative country in the world. It stands—in the popular mind—for all that is sinister in American politics, all that is reprehensible in American business, all that is vast and hazardous, all that is covetous and unscrupulous in high or low finance. It is a term that covers a multitude of things and

provokes a multitude of thoughts in every true American. For Wall Street is the accepted mirror and barometer of all American business. There, as in a magnified Monte Carlo, fortunes are won and lost, if not by the hour or the day, at least by the week or the month. There, too, the great trusts are organised ; there receiverships and profitable reconstructions are arranged; there sensational dividends and other surprises are hatched, by the insiders for the outsiders; there melons are cut; there all things and most persons are "done" in a strictly financial sense. But the secret of Wall Street's supremacy lies in the power of its banks as manufactories and curtailers of credit. Hence it is not merely a market of bonds and shares, not merely a recorder but a manipulator and controller of prices. One thing about Wall Street that strikes the most casual visitor is its purely American character. It takes no interest whatever in European securities. It only cares for Europe because Europe cares for America by taking an interest in American securities.

Just as our Wall Brook marks the line of the old Roman wall of Londinium, so Wall Street marks the old Dutch wall of the little

Dutch Colony of New Amsterdam; but its financial story goes back hardly more than a century. In 1790, the year after the adoption of the Constitution, Hamilton reported to Congress the plan of a national bank. In 1791, despite opposition from Madison, Jefferson and other powerful men (who held a central bank to be unconstitutional, because the individual States had not delegated banking authority to Congress), the bill was passed and signed by Washington. The Bank, which was located in Wall Street, was modelled on the Bank of England. Its charter, limited to twenty years, expired in 1811, and was not renewed. The dissolution of the Bank not only deprived the country of a large foreign capital, which could ill be spared, but was one of the causes that led in 1814 to the suspension of specie payments in most of the States of New England. The second Bank of the United States, which lasted from 1816 to 1832, was established in Philadelphia. But the financial prerogative of New York may fairly be dated from the year 1791, when it became for a time the depository of the funds of the United States Government and the seat of its financial operations.

Faint echoes of Wall Street's early days

were still heard in 1880. In a gossipy chronicle of that year we read : " The names of the old merchants who went down to the sea in ships, and of the money-changers and high treasurers who, in those days, were wont to come into the Street to draw from or deposit in the United States Bank, the Manhattan Company, or the Bank of New York, to inquire for the quotations, or to exchange views on the state of the market, are almost forgotten. But, moving about among these phantom groups, we recognise the stateliest figure of all, that of Alexander Hamilton. Then we see new banks set up and operations slowly widening through the terms of five Presidents. But it is only within the past forty-five years that *Wall Street* has got a special significance as the centre, not only of money but of speculation. From 1835 to 1880 a series of great inflations and correspondent depressions occurring there furnish a most protracted, singular and striking chapter in the annals of finance." We may now add that the thirty years which have passed since 1880 have been at least as striking and remarkable.

The early history of public finance in the United States was sadly marred by dis-

honesty, and this dishonesty may probably be traced to the bad traditions of currency that came from the colonial days. The debasement of a paper currency was a favourite device for reducing foreign debts, and new issues of paper were often made when a colony was in need of money. These ruinous expedients not only debased public credit and public money, they also undermined confidence and lowered the character of banking and mercantile transactions. The establishment of the Federal Union and of the United States Bank led to an improvement; but from time to time suspension of payments occurred, individual states repudiated their debts, and vicious currency legislation caused widespread loss, distrust and confusion, by which insiders with knowledge grew rich at the expense of the community. Possibly, indeed probably, the speculative temper of the American people is derived from the ups and downs of its currency; certainly many of the worst financial crises may be traced directly or indirectly to unsound money and the insecure basis of credit. But, besides this, the rarefied air of New York acts like champagne upon a nervous and excitable population.

The association known as the New York

Stock Exchange was formed at the beginning of the nineteenth century by a baker's dozen of stock-dealers, who met under a sycamore tree in Wall Street, opposite to the present banking house of Brown Brothers & Co., and would job off small lots of "governments," or stock in the Manhattan Company and Bank of New York. In 1816 there was a permanent organisation of 28 members, and in 1837—when Rothschild's agents in New York, the big firm of Josephs, fell with a crash—the New York Stock Exchange had become a power and a danger to a community which was rapidly developing a thirst for stock and share speculation. But in the year 1862 there sprang up a formidable competitor called at first the Public Board and later the Open Board of Brokers. This was the time of the Civil War. The printing presses of the North were issuing greenbacks by the million. Ruined merchants turned in despair to speculation, and flocked to the "coal hole," as the subterranean department in William Street was called, where the first sessions of this Public Board were held. According to a contemporary who witnessed these scenes, "lawyers whose tastes were speculative rather than litigious, more than one clergyman

whose pastoral labours were unremunerative, broken-down operators, merchants out of business, clerks out of situations, Jews 'native and to the manner born,' as well as the greenest and most unsophisticated parties from the rural districts, swelled the motley throng." The ups and downs of the war, distorted by telegraphic manipulations, helped the brokers and commission agents and money-changers; for rapid fluctuations in greenbacks and stocks of all kinds held together an active crowd of speculators. A sharp competition arose between the Old Board and the New. The New offered to do business at $\frac{1}{8}$ brokerage, *i. e.* 3 dollars and 12 cents on a hundred shares. The Old Board thereupon lowered its commission rates from $\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. to $\frac{1}{8}$ per cent., and resolved to expel any member who dealt with the rival body. Meanwhile the Wall Street soil produced of a sudden a wondrous mushroom growth of bankers and brokers. "The basements of William, Wall and Broad Streets and of Exchange Place seemed to have been suddenly penetrated with innumerable burrows inhabited by new and singular animals—mostly rodents—gnawing at the vast cheese of speculation." Promoters offered the usual wild-

cat schemes that appear and are subscribed for in such times—gold claims in Colorado, copper franchises in Wisconsin, and so on. In such cases distance often lent enchantment to the view. Fluctuations of the currency during the war made all transactions hazardous. When greenbacks were issued it was hoped that they would circulate at par with the gold dollar. But early in 1862 a premium on gold appeared, and in July 1864 the premium touched 285, and the cash value of the paper dollar fell to its lowest point—86 cents. A gold exchange was opened in New York called the Gold Room, which at one time had between four and five hundred members. There was often wild speculation made in gold futures, and on one celebrated Black Friday (September 24, 1869) Jay Gould and others made a corner in gold which caused heavy losses to many unfortunate merchants.

Meanwhile the Open Board of Brokers flourished exceedingly, and in 1864 moved to a hall in 16 Broad Street. But after the war, when amalgamations came into favour, the two Boards and another Board for the buying and selling of Government bonds were united under the title of the New York Stock and

Exchange Board, the same whose marble palace now fronts on Broad Street. In this splendid hall business is conducted in strict accordance with an elaborate constitution and by-laws. Membership is restricted, a seat can be bought only at a very high price. Infringements of rules are severely punished by fine, suspension, or expulsion. It differs from the London Stock Exchange in various ways. First, there is no distinction between jobbers and brokers. All members are both or either. Hence there is only one transaction—no middleman stands between the public and the market.

This first distinction the New York Stock Exchange has in common with all the Stock Exchanges of the Old and the New World, so far as we are aware. The jobber is a London creation, and he has not been imitated. Whether it is due to him or to some other cause, such as the banking supremacy of London, that the stock and share market of London is the freest market of its kind in the world is a question in dispute, and one that cannot easily be answered. The New York Exchange also differs from ours in the rigidity of its commission law. A New York broker charges one-eighth commission per cent. on

the par value, each way, neither more nor less. This is very profitable work. In London of course by arrangement, especially when the business is on a large scale, lower rates can be obtained without offending against the laws and rules of the Stock Exchange. As a centre of speculative activity New York has no rival. The publicity of its quotations is only matched by the rapidity with which they are circulated to the most distant towns of the American continent. This is all due to the tape machine, called "the Ticker," an American invention which has been developed in an extraordinary way during the last thirty years. The reliability of tape prices is remarkable, and any mistake is speedily corrected. The tape machine is not officially recognised. Nevertheless its mechanical efficiency has been proved, and it contributes an invaluable check upon dishonest brokers. Tape machines are to be found all over the States; you see them in secluded health resorts, where an enterprising New York broker may have taken a room in order to cater for the adventurous instincts of the tired millionaire. The same contrivance enables far away newspapers to give their readers a complete list of New York prices on the following morning.

But for these machines and their extension the volume of speculation would without doubt be reduced enormously. It is difficult to see, now that the tape machine and the telephone have been perfected, how the invention of aids and facilities to speculation can go much further. By these means the actual prices of securities and the alluring bait of incessantly fluctuating favourites are kept before a naturally speculative public all the time. With a tape machine by his side the banker, the merchant, the manufacturer can sip the sweet excitements of the Stock Exchange in his arm-chair. To watch the tape machine is the main business of some and the main pleasure of others. Certainly this invention is the grand cause of the expansion of speculative business. If it could be extinguished the Stock Exchange would probably be denuded of half its members and the other half would find their profits heavily reduced. The whole American public has been educated to the "ticker." Its services to the investor must be set against the stimulus it has given to gambling on the Stock Exchange. But when all deductions have been made—and of course an active market means a free market and closer quotations — it can hardly be

admitted among the inventions that have made the world more civilised.

The fortnightly settlements of London would be impossible in New York, though it is almost incredible to an English broker that the day's transactions can be settled, as New York settles them, by the day.

On one record occasion the Clearing-house settled and balanced transactions in about 3,200,000 shares, of an approximate value of 50 millions sterling. This test proved conclusively the perfection of New York's financial machinery for settling Stock Exchange transactions. Brokers obtain their funds through two species of loans, called respectively "Time" loans and "Call" loans. Time loans are made for a specified date, Call loans are a speciality of the New York market. Brokerage houses in ordinary times carry 60 per cent. of their borrowings in Time loans and 40 per cent. in Call loans. Negotiations for time money are carried on directly with the lenders or with street brokers they select to represent them. Call loans are negotiated on the Stock Exchange much after the manner in which stocks are bought and sold. These "Call" loans are all made upon collateral which must have an aggregate market value of

at least 20 per cent. above the face value of the loan. A call loan can be terminated by either party the next day, or any day thereafter, by giving notice before 1 o'clock, and must be paid at once when the lender calls it. Similarly in London bankers lend out funds "at call or short notice."

Before noon the banks and Trust companies notify their brokers in what is called the "money crowd" on the Stock Exchange to lend a stated amount of money. At about 2.30 in the afternoon this crowd is thickest and noisiest. By then the Stock Exchange knows pretty accurately how much it will need, and its brokers go into the "crowd" to bid for what they want, buying money from the bankers' agents at the lowest rate obtainable.

This Stock Exchange money market of New York rests upon the solid economic basis of supply and demand. Occasional attempts are made to manipulate it, but generally without result. A few of the banks and Trust companies never ask more than 6 per cent. per annum for their money, even in times of panic; but at such times their brokers, instead of offering their money publicly, go about privately, selecting the most reputable

houses, and generally ask for gilt-edged dividend-paying securities as collateral, and for larger margins than are demanded in quieter times. The extreme rates that are published represent loans of small sums to the needy and poorer class of borrowers. If there were no adequate supply of call money available New York Stock Exchange methods would have to be changed. The daily settlement is universal in the Stock Exchanges of the United States, and is doubtless one of the causes why failures or defaults are so commendably rare.

The profession of broker on the New York Stock Exchange is indeed a very remunerative one. Most of the members are well off and many of them are rich. Until they have saved a sufficient capital out of their commissions they often have the good sense to avoid speculation. But when they once have money free they begin to invest and operate for their own account, or, as they say, "take an interest in the market." A clever man in this position, who is really in the swim and the know, can usually do well for himself; and it is surprising how many of these professionals have the self-restraint to avoid great risks. They know from the experience

of unfortunate clients the danger of "over-trading," and as over-trading is the characteristic vice of the amateur speculator a word here may be in season. "The rapid expansion of an investor into a speculator," said a successful Wall Street broker to the writer, "is one of our most familiar sights." A man comes down to a broker's office with five thousand dollars, and says he wants to invest it to the best advantage. The broker asks him whether he wishes to make a pure investment or whether he would like his holding to have "a speculative tail" to it. In nine cases out of ten the investor admits that he had the idea of increasing his capital in mind when he came there. The broker then explains to him that he can safely buy \$10,000 worth of securities, on which he can pay 50 per cent., and the broker will lend him the balance of the purchase money at current rates of interest. The broker says, in effect: "I will buy you ten thousand dollars' worth of stock with your five thousand dollars, and with five thousand additional dollars, which I will borrow for you from month to month at 5 per cent. or whatever is the market rate, as long as you like to hold the stock." Our investor is captivated by the plan. He neglects the

possibility of a fall, in which case his losses are doubled, because his mind is taken up with the probability and practical certainty of a rise. He has opened his account in Wall Street on the basis of what is known as a 50 per cent. margin. He is half investor, half speculator. The fluctuations of the market begin to excite him. If he loses, he wants to make good the loss. If he gains, his appetite for more is whetted. He hovers about Wall Street listening eagerly for points. Presently he meets a tipster, who suggests something better and hints to the novice that he may quadruple his gains if he contents himself with a 25 per cent. margin, owning only a quarter of the stock which is to make his fortune. His own speculative investment begins to look very small and slow to him, as he listens to the feverish and exaggerated talk all around him, and reads the inspired utterances of the secular and financial press. The temptation to increase his risks without increasing his capital is nearly irresistible, and in a comparatively short time he has 50,000 dollars' worth of stocks with only the same original capital of 5,000 dollars, owing his broker 45,000 instead of 5,000. He is then, of course, in a position in which a small decline in prices will swamp

all his capital. The investor has become a speculator, in reality a plunger. He is over-trading; the nerve strain is making him miserable, but he can't stop. A 10 per cent. decline wipes him out. No matter how good a security may be, there are many unforeseen events which may cause a fall of 10 per cent. in its market price without affecting in the least its real value. But such temporary fluctuations seldom cause, even in panics, a 50 per cent. depreciation in the value of investment securities, so that our investor would have been comparatively safe if he had not yielded to the temptation to "over-trade." But whether his capital is risked or not, the more he borrows and the more he shifts his securities—the greater, in fact, the cost of his holdings in interest and commissions—the more probabilities weigh against his emerging from Wall Street with a profit.

In his *Twenty Years of Inside Life in Wall Street*, Mr. Fowler relates an incident of this kind which may be condensed to serve as an illustration. One day, in January 1865, a rough farmer, entering the office of a Wall Street broker, produced from his portly wallet two documents, the first a certificate of good character from the local school-master, the

other a certificate of \$2,300 deposit in the bank of his native village. Next he spread out on the table a cutting from a newspaper headed "Petroleum," setting forth that the books of the Sixtieth National Petroleum Company were still open to subscription; capital \$1,000,000 in \$10 shares, and the Company was generously allowing the public to buy them at \$3 a share. The property consisted of 30 acres in the very midst of the oil region, quite near to the celebrated Buchanan farm; three wells already sunk, and room for more; every indication of oil; a dividend of 2 per cent. a month guaranteed; books to be closed positively and irrevocably on the 21st instant.

"Them air Petrollum shares is what I've come for. Two per cent. a month dividend is enough for me," said the rustic. This was at the height of the oil boom. The brokers tried hard to dissuade their client; but only by quoting the agricultural maxim, "Don't put all your eggs in one basket," could they prevail on him to invest no more than \$1,300 in this company, keeping the balance of a thousand for other tempting opportunities. They went to the office of the Petroleum Company, paid in the money, and received

certificates for 433 shares. The investor was charmed with the certificates. In the foreground was engraved a flowing well, sending up a jet 100 feet into the air and falling in a graceful parabolic curve into a huge tank inscribed with the company's name. Nearby was a pyramid of barrels, and in the background several vessels and railroad trains were being laden with petroleum. The petroleum fever had raged eight months and culminated in February, after bubble companies with a nominal capital of 300 million dollars had been organised. A special Petroleum Stock Exchange had been created, which, dying soon afterwards, had its remains incorporated with the Mining Stock Board, another product of another contemporary bubble.

Five months afterwards the rustic lost faith in petroleum, and sold his stock at 10 cents a share; but he was more fortunate with his balance. First he "sold short" in gold and made \$5,000. Then he became a bull of Erie and made another \$5,000; then, in spite of his brokers, he fell into the claws of the Lobster. They lost sight of him for three months until one day in November, when he rushed into the office, crying: "The Lobster has busted, and I'm busted."

He had just \$200 left. It was a damp, chill day; every one looked blue, but the rustic's face was the bluest of all. They took him and cheered him with a certain beverage, and then found that the poor man had borrowed money from friends in his village to meet the demands of the rapacious Lobster for more margin. The debt weighed on his mind; but at this point an operator joined them in high spirits. He had just made a little pile out of a heavy fall in *Prairie du Chien*. It had already fallen to 91, and he predicted it would fall to 50 inside of the week, and volunteered to sell calls in it at 110 which should be deliverable at any time in the next thirty days. The rustic's face brightened and he gave this new friend his last \$200 for a call of 200 (hundred dollar) shares. The operator filled out a form, signed it and sent it to his broker, who guaranteed it.

The document would run as follows :—

New York, November —, 1865.

For Value received the Bearer may CALL ON ME for Two Hundred Shares of the Ordinary Stock of the *Prairie du Chien* Company at 110 per cent. at any time in thirty days from date. The bearer is entitled to all

dividends or extra dividends declared during the time.

Signed :

The stock called *Prairie du Chien*, or *Prairie Dog*, was not inconveniently large for the pool made by Stimpson and Marston in the autumn of this year (1865). There were only about 29,000 shares to be handled. In August the stock had broken to 33. The pool proceeded with the utmost secrecy to buy nearly all the stock. On the Saturday when the rustic bought his call it had risen to par. "On the following Monday it sold from 125 to 250 in twenty minutes, amid the fiercest excitement ever known before in the Brokers' Board."

On that "black bear Monday," when our hero reached the lobby of the Brokers' Board *Prairie du Chien* had just struck 200. Trembling with joy he fumbled forth his lucky "call," sent it in to his broker, and in three minutes had sold his 200 shares at 210. Ten minutes later he "called" upon his operating bear friend, who bought the stock at 225 and delivered it to the party who had just bought the 200 shares at 210. In 48 hours the two hundred dollars had swollen to \$20,000, for each of his two hundred 100-dollar shares had

doubled in value between the time when he bought the call and the time when he sold it.

After this happy event the rustic might have retired to his village as an agricultural capitalist. Unfortunately, but naturally enough, history relates that he became enamoured of "calls and puts." He never thought of returning in glory and comfort to his village, but hunted for new opportunities in the street, "until one fine day in February he heard that Henry Keep was selling calls in Old Southern at a price slightly above the market, and promptly secured calls for 500 shares duly signed by Henry Keep. Hearing of Keep's sales, and reasoning that Keep was not such a fool as to sell calls on Old Southern if it were going to rise, the bears bought his calls freely and used them as a margin to sell short. A little later, when the price had risen considerably, Keep began selling "puts," also on favourable terms. Then the bulls bought these "puts" and used them as margins to buy Old Southern. Thus the wily operator stiffened the price doubly, first by inducing short sales at a low price, next by inducing purchases at a high price.

A "put," be it remembered, is in form exactly like a call; only for the key words

"CALL ON ME" you substitute "DELIVER ME," so that while the person who buys a call does so in hope of the price rising within the time prescribed, the person who buys a "put" does so in hope of it falling. Our hero held his call for 500 shares until Old Southern touched 98, when he "called," received the stock, sold it for cash at 100, and netted a profit of \$12,000. Successful and elated, the farmer now blossomed out as a City man, sought the aid of a fashionable tailor and cultivated Wall Street society. A new acquaintance dazzled him with the story of the Pacific Mail. Its fluctuations from 1850 to 1864 had scattered fortune and ruin through the crowd of speculators. In December 1861, when the Trent affair threatened war with England, it had fallen to 69. The capital stock was 4 million dollars in 40,000 shares. But in 1862 a powerful ring acquired 26,000 shares, which were transferred to a banking firm to hold as trustees for five years for the joint benefit of members of the ring. After 1864, with the end of the war the price of the stock began to rise by leaps and bounds. The public demand was met with generous supplies. In 1865 the capital was increased from 4 to 10 million dollars, and the price

was 240. Next year, when the capital was doubled and the price 180, the trustees of the pool held 130,000 shares. Soon afterwards L. W. Jerome, then a giant of the Stock Exchange, bought 100,000 shares from the trustees of the pool at 20 per cent. below the market price, and began to unload artfully but slowly. Unfortunately for him the winter brought currency troubles and a severe depression. The market was deluged with stock, and in a few days Pacific Mail fell from 163 to 115. In later years the watered stock of this steamship company sank to 10; but the fall to 115 pretty nearly ruined Jerome, who was only saved from extinction by the charity of the pool, which released him from part of his contract. "The same blow," we are told, "which felled this financial giant also struck hard upon our bucolic pigmy." Dazzled by the fortunes won in Pacific Mail, he had bought 400 shares at 175, putting up a margin of no less than 60 per cent., "a dead open and shut thing" as he expressed it, certainly a judicious and ample margin in ordinary cases. But in thirty days this margin was wiped out. He sold his four hundred shares at the lowest panic price, losing \$24,000. For a month the agriculturist

retired to the backwoods with a poor remainder of \$5,000. But he returned, and by a series of lucky turns, raised it in eight months to \$13,000. Then he ran across his Pacific Mail adviser, who gave him another inside tip about Atlantic Mail. Unwarned by his experience with its Pacific sister, he listened to the story of its wonderful promise. It had fallen 20 per cent. and must recover. So he bought 100 shares at 93, depositing a 10 per cent. margin. That very day Atlantic Mail began to drop. It hung for a while at 87, and then broke 64 per cent. in an hour. Again our poor friend sold at the lowest point, 23. It usually happens so. After this calamity he retired finally from Wall Street with \$2,500 in his wallet, just \$200 more than he had brought with him originally. His first, best broker asks why he did not retire with his \$30,000 safely invested, and replies—

“Operators come into the street with the intention of making 5 or 10 or 20,000 dollars, which having been done, they say they will draw out their profits and retire. But they don't. Their broker blandly hovers over and guards their precious little piles *for himself*. He inquires in an insinuating voice, just as he is going to the Board, whether his cus-

tomers 'has anything to say.' The customer generally has something to say in the shape of an order to buy or sell, and then in five minutes, or thereabouts, he finds his pile is locked fast as a margin in the fond embrace of his broker, who sits over it and feeds upon it till what with interest, commissions, turns, losses, etc., the precious little pile dwindles, and finally disappears."

It hardly needs argument to prove that the odds are heavily against the amateur speculator. If he is not actually fleeced and swindled he is far more likely than not to lose. It is like betting against the bank. The wear and tear of commissions and stamps and interest eats away his capital, even if the luck is evenly balanced. As an example of the means by which the small fry find their way into the mouth of the great pike operators a very old story may be revived. Jay Gould—or some such person—on one occasion being asked for advice by the pastor of a rich and fashionable New York Tabernacle, whispered a recommendation of Pacific Mail and promised to reimburse the pious man if his purchases of that stock should result in loss. When the pastor came to him later, deeply distressed by a heavy personal

loss, Gould was as good as his word, and promptly handed him a cheque for the amount. "But how about my parishioners?" inquired the reverend gentleman. "You placed no ban of secrecy upon me, and their losses are enormous." To which Gould replied calmly, "They were the people I was after." Thus was verified a Japanese proverb: "The darkest place is just below the candlestick."

Mr. Thomas Gibson, in a recent analysis of the art of speculation, has described the results of a careful examination of 4,000 speculative accounts spread over a period of ten years. Four points were established.

1. Most of the operations were pure gambling.
2. Success almost invariably led to excess and disaster.
3. There was a marked tendency to buy at the top and sell at the bottom.
4. About 80 per cent. of the accounts showed a final loss.

Thus, apart from all the worry, work, and anxiety, four-fifths of these eager fortune hunters actually lost money as well as time. In another case 500 speculative accounts in Steel Common taken from the books of different firms between July 1901 and March 1903

(in both of which months the stock sold at 37) gave the following results: In 343 cases the accounts terminated in loss; 88 showed a profit; 52 fairly balanced; and in 17 cases the Steel Stocks were taken up by the purchasers to be held "in all cases at a considerable paper loss." So wide of the mark is the popular fancy that stock market speculation on borrowed money is a hopeful enterprise. It is a curious fact that comparatively few, even among professional operators, are to be found often on the bear side. I have met hardened speculators who boasted that they never had done, and never would do anything so immoral as to try to make money in this way "out of other men's losses" by the fall of a stock. But a very little reflection will show that no code of ethics can make a valid distinction between betting that a horse will win and betting that it will lose. It may be wrong to buy beyond your purse when things look cheap, or to sell more than you possess when they look dear. But there is exactly the same moral objection to either course, and of course there is nothing like a bear contingent to steady and check a falling market. The speculator for a rise who is trying to sell in a falling market has every reason to be grateful

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to the speculator for a fall who has sold "short," and is therefore forced to buy stock in order to meet his obligations. Theoretically a successful operator should be capable of bearish and bullish moods, for, on the whole, over a period of years stocks and shares tend to maintain their level, though great changes in price may result from great wars, which destroy vast quantities of capital and create vast quantities of Government debt, or from long periods of peace when capital accumulates and interest falls. But bear operations, especially on a large scale, are very dangerous, because there may be a shortage of available stock, and in that case holders may squeeze the bear to any extent and force him to buy back at ruinous prices. This may account for some of the almost superstitious objections entertained against bear operations. A shrewd old New York broker, just before retiring, told a young disciple, "If I had to live my life over again I would always be a bull, but I would not always have an interest." In other words, he would only speculate in a rising market. At other times he would be content with his commissions.

To return to Wall Street. Since the end

of the Civil War it has seen three crises, each of which may be said to have marked the end of a distinctive epoch in finance. The panic of 1873—when Jay Cooke came to grief and the New York Stock Exchange closed for ten days—stopped the construction of railways between the Great Lakes and the Pacific coast—a productive work which found peaceful occupation for the million disbanded soldiers of the Civil War, and had so solved what seemed the almost insoluble problem of that vast accession of idle men to the labour market. After five years' rest and recuperation another era of speculative expansion commenced in 1878, anticipating the resumption of specie payments, and lasted with many ups and downs for about six years, during which time many thousands of miles of railway were built parallel to, and in competition with, some of the most prosperous existing lines. The capital embarked in these new adventures proved, for the most part, unfortunate for the original investors; hence, after the panic of 1884 brought this second era of prosperity to an end, there followed a period of transition during which these new and at first unprofitable lines were being absorbed by the older and stronger corpora-

tions. Then came another outburst of speculation, which was marked by the entry of large foreign operators into the New York market, and by a great development of London's dealings in Americans, or "Yankees," as they were called. A check to this was administered by the Baring crisis. But the collapse in New York was not quite due, and was postponed till 1893; its proximate cause being the vicious silver legislation of the United States Government. A heavy cloud of depression hung over Wall Street until 1896, when Mr. McKinley was elected President on a straight gold platform. This restored the confidence of the moneyed interest, and laid the train for a new era of speculative activity. By the Dingley tariff the profits of favoured manufacturers were enormously increased at the expense of the general public, and upon the passing of the Tariff there followed in logical sequence the organisation of trusts to stifle competition and raise prices to the utmost limit of the protective and prohibitive duties. From the Wall Street point of view this chapter may be called the capitalising of the tariff. It lasted till the Stock Exchange and banking crisis of 1907. That disastrous collapse of credit started with the run on the

Knickerbocker Trust in October, and ended in a suspension of cash payments which was continued for many weeks by nearly all the banks in practically all parts of the United States.

This crisis and its consequences, political, social and economic, are still vivid in the memory. But though the crisis stands out clear and the consequences are undeniable, a lively controversy still rages about its causes. Perhaps it may here be affirmed that the unhealthy conditions caused by tariff and trusts on the one hand, and by the currency and banking laws on the other, were largely responsible for the severity of the cataclysm; for the storm, after blowing down the whole fabric of credit, left behind it not only a long and deep depression in almost every branch of industry but a widespread and apparently irresistible popular resentment against the Tariff.

Each of the crises named was marked by one common feature—a suspension of payment by the New York banks; and in the case of all except the last the funds of the Wall Street banks were mainly employed in loans on Stock Exchange collateral for the purpose of speculative operations. Indeed,

Wall Street and the Stock Exchange were till the late nineties practically synonymous terms, so that a banking crisis would naturally attend any really severe crisis upon the Stock Exchange. But the reason why the Wall Street banks could not withstand the "runs" of October 1907 was rather different; for in the era of great trust and corporate flotations after 1906 immense sums of bank money had been loaned to the managers under "syndicate agreements." This money had been available for Stock Exchange operations; but now there were Stock Exchange loans and syndicate loans in Wall Street, and the latter proved not to be liquid like the former. When the liquidation of Stock Exchange loans was finished, and creditors of the banks were still clamorous, there was nothing for the banks to do but suspend payment; for the syndicate loans were found to be quite unwieldy and uncollectable in such an emergency.

The fact that one institution in New York was financing 81 syndicates at one time, will give some idea of the extent to which the resources of Wall Street were used outside of the Stock Exchange when the collapse came in 1907. Since that time the current has changed back again to Stock Exchange

operations, and now there is direct manipulation of prices of securities on the Stock Exchange by groups of capitalists who had for some years devoted their operations almost entirely to the creation and management of syndicates.

The New York Stock Exchange business differs radically in one respect from all others: its dealings are practically confined to home corporations. Canadian Pacific Railway shares are dealt in sparingly, and there is a nominal market for some issues of Japanese bonds. There used to be a market for some Mexican rails, but now a recorded sale rarely appears. American investments have always been sufficiently attractive to hold the bulk of American capital. This will change some day, but not soon. Some day American colonial securities will probably be quoted and actively dealt in. There is a steady absorption of good shares by small investors. Every year the registry of stock holders shows an increase in numbers in most of the old-established dividend-paying corporations. Hence comes the demand for more public control of corporations and more protection for investors. The business of the New York Stock Exchange will become more of an investment character, as

American securities develop into sure revenue producers. Railway shares that used to be of doubtful value have become sound investments, and there are comparatively few low-priced shares now available for the shrewd investor who likes to buy shares that may ultimately become revenue producing. Such buyers, if they still fancy American securities, must eventually turn to the ordinary shares of industrial corporations, of which there will be a large assortment from which to choose; but the market for them will not be so broad and speculatively attractive as it has been for the ordinary shares of railway corporations. It may always be possible to buy but not always possible to sell. The tendency of public opinion is to force the New York Stock Exchange to protect the interests of dealers in its securities with the utmost possible care.

CHAPTER V

GOOD SECURITIES AND THE ART OF INVESTMENT

AFTER our survey of Stock Exchanges in the past and the present my readers will be prepared for some critical examination of the area and modes of investment. The difference between investment and speculation cannot be defined accurately; but every one has a rough idea of a line which divides safety, with the certainty of a reasonable interest, from risk, with all its possibilities of loss or profit. The theme of speculation will be developed in our next chapter. Our present object is to direct the attention of the genuine investor, who wants his interest to be as high as is compatible with the safety of his principal, to some of the general rules and considerations that should limit and guide his choice.

The largest and most varied list of securities in the world is the "Daily Official List" of

the London Stock Exchange. It now consists of sixteen large pages. The price of a single copy is sixpence. It is published by the Trustees and Managers of the Stock Exchange, under the authority of the Committee, at 4, Copthall Buildings, London, E.C. Largely as the result of the ever-increasing tendency both at home and abroad to give commercial and industrial undertakings the form of joint-stock companies, the London list has expanded very rapidly in the last half-century. Up to the year 1867 one page sufficed, then four till 1889, then eight till 1900, and twelve from 1900 to 1902, when it reached its present limit of sixteen. In the last twenty-five years the total nominal value of all the securities quoted has nearly doubled—from £5,480,000,000 in 1885 to £10,200,000,000 in 1909, about twice the nominal capital value of the securities quoted on the Paris Bourse according to the latest statement that I have seen. In 1902 the total par value of the listed and unlisted securities dealt in on the New York Stock Exchange was only about £3,000,000,000.

The London Stock Exchange List is subdivided into thirty-eight different classes of very varying importance. The Foreign

market, including the loans of foreign governments and foreign provincial and municipal issues, deals with a nominal capital of over three thousand million pounds sterling. Other great groups are—

The Consol market, including colonial and municipal issues	1737 millions.
The Home railway market	. 1220 „
American railroads, including U.S. steel	. 1803 „
Foreign railway market	. 571 „
Colonial „ „	. 229 „
Indian „ „	. 145 „

Then there are the immense markets of home banking, insurance, shipping, gas, waterworks, canals, mining, industrial, financial and miscellaneous, comprising about £1,500,000,000 of nominal values. The miscellaneous market includes a great number of British companies working abroad or in the colonies, or partially at home and partially abroad, such as land, mining, rubber, nitrate, telegraphs, etc. In the foreign bond market only a fraction of the capital invested is British. In American railways, British capital comes easily next after American. In all the other markets of the London

Stock Exchange home investors own the whole, or a greatly preponderating share. Before leaving the list we shall do well to insist again, at the risk of repetition, that it is not always possible to buy or sell at the prices quoted. A jobber cannot be forced to deal. The real test of saleability is the column showing "business done," which indicates clearly enough what are the active securities. Among inactive securities there are many (such as small but sound State and municipal loans) which are saleable enough. On the other hand, small speculative securities such as rubber and oil companies, and many other commercial and industrial ventures, are easily got rid of when for some reason or other speculation flourishes, but are at other times almost unmarketable. The best markets for local industrials are often found on provincial Stock Exchanges, such as Glasgow, Manchester, or Liverpool.

For investment purposes securities may be divided into public and private, the former being based on public credit backed by taxes (or rates), and the latter on private credit backed by profits, good will, and tangible assets.

The best Government loans, starting with British Consols and French Rentes, and ending with the Imperial and State loans of Germany, yielded at the close of 1910 from 3 to 4 per cent. interest. Twelve years ago they yielded from $2\frac{3}{8}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The change has come about mainly through enormous borrowings for wars and increased armaments. If, as seems now happily not improbable, we may look forward to a period of abstention from war, with limitations of military and naval expenditure by arrangement among the Powers, a substantial appreciation in the credit of these gilt-edged securities (especially British and German) can confidently be predicted, though it may be long before we return to the levels of 1897 and 1898. With the increasing demands for public improvements of all kinds, the output of municipal loans throughout the world is a formidable competitor with the borrowing propensities of national governments. Fortunately, the good municipal loans are generally well spent for purposes which are directly or indirectly profitable. The investor is also protected, as a rule, either by a sinking fund, or by a provision for repayment at par on a given date, or by a statutory limitation

of the total indebtedness in accordance with the assessable value of the town, or by more than one of these methods in combination. No British municipality has ever, since the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835, failed to pay its interest punctually. Among the States of the American Union there were some scandalous repudiations in the days of Sidney Smith, which have been immortalised by the stinging pen of that wittiest of economic and political writers. However, with a mere handful of exceptions the record of North American and colonial towns has been clean for a generation, and their credit is deservedly high. But as the coupons upon the city bonds of the United States are not payable in London, they are of little interest to English investors. Some care should be exercised in regard to the size of towns; for small colonial villages, which might almost be wheeled out of the municipal area in a single night, sometimes call themselves "cities," and get their bonds hawked about in London. The investor should wait for a good prospectus or take the issue of a decent-sized colonial town which is duly quoted in the London Stock Exchange list. But he may well be satisfied with a slightly

lower rate of interest in home municipal stocks, from which, if he is an "inscribed" holder, he will receive his interest regularly without trouble. All the larger issues are readily marketable at any moment, though of course the jobber's turn is rather bigger than in the case of consols.

To judge the value of second-class public securities requires a rather wide knowledge of political and financial conditions. A rough criterion is the market's own appreciation. But the market seldom discriminates adequately between loans for war or armaments and loans for capital and reproductive purposes. The value of its judgment is rather technical as between different securities of the same class. But a nation groaning under a dead-weight debt contracted for war is in a very much inferior position to that of a country like Canada which has borrowed mainly for reproductive purposes. And in the same country there may be many public issues of very varying merit. Thus a close study of the various Greek bonds will show why the railway loan is considered the best, and so yields the lowest rate of interest. Similar distinctions may be made in the case of Turkish, Argen-

tine, Chinese, and Brazilian loans. As a rule, in the case of countries which are financially weak and overburdened with debt, the market prefers loans specially mortgaged on some branch of the customs or inland revenue. In countries with rising credit the lower interest loans standing well below par are the most attractive. A railway bond guaranteed by the Government has a double security, and may in some cases be preferred to a direct Government issue. Indeed, the unguaranteed bonds of the best British railway companies in South America often yield a lower rate of interest than those of the Government whose territory they serve. Generally speaking, investors, who do not wish to lose their capital, should avoid the municipal and provincial issues of South America, and all Central American loans, and all the loans of Venezuela, Colombia and other minor republics of South America. To judge by experience and present conditions, Argentina, Chile, and Brazil are the most secure of South American States. But even in these, as well as in Mexico, there are elements of political danger and social disorder which cannot be overlooked.

Turning from public to private securities

we are faced by an entirely new set of considerations, and the task of the investor is far more difficult and complicated. By a skilful and cautious use of local knowledge a careful buyer may often secure for himself a high rate of interest with comparatively little risk. But even so he will be well advised not to entrust all his eggs to a local basket. In case of the accidents and misfortunes due to unforeseen frauds, or unsuspected mismanagement, or fashion, or competition, any local concern may come to grief. A town or part of a town may decay, an industry may decline, the values and rents of lands, houses, factories, and shops, may shrink and dwindle to the most alarming extent. Certainly those who have capital should take care that a good part of it is distributed among unassailable securities of a national or international character.

Let us now pass to the technicalities of joint-stock companies—their bonds, their preference stocks, and their ordinary shares, and to the general merits of the security which various species of undertakings offer.

During the last seventy or eighty years, railway enterprise has probably proved the most productive and profitable of all invest-

ments. The early promotions of course contained a large sprinkling of swindles. The early railroad pioneers were often of the buccaneering type—a type not yet extinct in new countries. But in the average case where the promoters have attained an average standard of honesty, and the engineers an average standard of skill, the faith of the investor has been justified. So far no invention for land transport has appeared which seems at all likely to vie with the steel car, drawn by steam or electricity along steel rails, in cheapness and celerity. It might seem that steamships should provide equally attractive openings to the investor. But here a vital difference emerges. Almost every railway enjoys at least a partial monopoly. It has a route fixed and permanent, which no competitor can use without its consent. The people along the route must use it for travelling or freight, and it is only in densely populated countries that an alternative line is often available without great loss of time and convenience. But the sea is a public highway open to all. No shipping company can exclude a competitor from its route. And as soon as a lucrative monopoly begins to be enjoyed, another company, or a

swarm of tramps, is almost certain to appear. Tramways and improved roads, with bicycles and motor cars, have no doubt reduced short distance passenger traffic in some places, but they also act as feeders to a trunk line. There may be a future danger to railroad investors in aeroplanes and flying machines; but at present the peril seems to attach to the persons rather than to the competitors of aeronauts. Telegraph companies are threatened by telephones and marconigrams, but so far they seem likely to survive. The telephone is a quick substitute for the personal interview. The telegram is a quick substitute for the letter. Each has its special use, and therefore the capital invested in each may continue to yield interest. So, again, many substitutes have been invented for rubber; but none of them has yet proved at all formidable.

It would be possible to fill many pages in this way discussing the probable future of the different branches of commerce and industry into which capital is being and has been poured by investors. But our special purpose here is to define broadly what is a satisfactory security, leaving the investor to speculate upon and allow for the possi-

bility of any particular business being superseded by the invention of a superior process or a cheaper substitute. And here it may be well to begin by accepting, with limitations, the received opinion that, in the sphere of private or commercial as distinguished from government and public stocks, the best security is a first mortgage upon any flourishing enterprise which can offer ample assets. It is not every undertaking that can provide satisfactory security for the issue of bonds. In fact, it may almost be said that a real freehold estate, with a market value considerably above the total issue of first mortgage bonds, is the only case in which a first mortgage in itself offers anything like an impregnable security even in a stable and civilised country. For this purpose, pastoral or agricultural land is superior to urban values, as it is generally subject to less violent fluctuations. But even here there is the possibility of a confiscatory land tax—and that passed by the Labour Government in Australia in 1910 almost deserves the epithet—which will make a heavy reduction in the selling value of the lands of a pastoral company, and so endanger the capital even of those who hold first mortgage bonds on the property.

The value of a first mortgage rests on the fact that if the interest is not paid the mortgagees can immediately seize and sell the property. Where the property consists of real estate, timber, or other valuable and marketable goods in ample amount, and the courts of justice can be relied on, the security may be called perfect. But in nine cases out of ten the property of the corporation or company owes most of its value to the undertaking as a whole. As Mr. E. S. Meade puts it, in his excellent treatise on *Corporation Finance*, "When the property of the company is specialised to the use of a particular business, such as a railroad or manufacturing plant, where the business must be carried on in a certain place and by people who are skilled in its management, and where the property, once devoted to a particular use, can be turned to no other use, the real security of the creditor is not the property but the earnings of the property." On this view the much-vaunted first mortgage on a railroad owes its value to the fact not that it enables you to sell the property, but that it is a first charge on the earnings. In other words, the American first mortgage bond is no better than the floating charge

of an ordinary English debenture, and if the surplus earnings in bad times are less it is really less valuable. Other things being equal, a well-covered first preference is almost as good as an equally well-covered bond or debenture. Let us put the American first mortgage bond to the practical test of bankruptcy.

If we look at the actual wording of the 1897 mortgage securing "the first lien convertible four per cent. gold bonds" of the Union Pacific Railroad Company (a typically gilt-edged investment though the line was in a receiver's hands twenty years ago) we find that it assigns to the trustee all the several lines of railroad, property, terminals, premises, etc., belonging to the railroad company. Under this and other mortgage deeds the trustee for the bondholders has large and sweeping powers over the property of the corporation in the event of bankruptcy. He can, in theory, sell the property, or enter upon it and operate it, applying the proceeds or revenues to the liquidation of its debts. In theory, I say, and according to the letter of the law, the property of a corporation which fails to pay interest on its bonds, or to meet them when due, is to be seized by

the trustee and sold. It is for this that the mortgage deed was drawn, for this that the trustee exists. A similar procedure is actually carried out in small bankruptcies. But in large affairs the American law does not work. Just as, in a panic, American banks are allowed to suspend cash payments without closing their doors, so (to quote our previous authority) "the theory of the corporation mortgage cannot in many cases be carried out."

How, then, is the mortgage made null and void, and "the property protected against its creditors"? It is done "by invoking the aid of a court of equity." A receivership is the easy and comfortable haven into which in troublous times an American corporation steers. I am not exaggerating. Mr. Meade, who has studied the law and the facts exhaustively, declares that "at the first threat of disaster" the directors, "who see long before any creditor the impending insolvency of the company, fly to the shelter of a court of equity." Equity shields them from the law, and bars the best secured creditors from their legal remedy. The judge usually appoints the chief lawyer of the bankrupt corporation, or possibly even its president,

as receiver. Or he may, and often does in smaller cases, appoint some unsuccessful lawyer connected with the court; for a receivership is a paid office, and receiverships, especially in bad times, are large fountains of patronage. The plea, we are told, which usually prevails with the judge on these occasions, is that, unless the court intervenes and appoints a receiver, the creditors of the company will seize upon its property. But exactly the same plea could be urged in respect of a house-owner who failed to pay interest on his mortgage. The only difference is that in the case of a corporation the stockholders, who own it, are a numerous body.

To get the money or substitute for money that he needs to carry on the business, the receiver usually resorts to what are called "receiver's certificates." A receiver's certificate is "a short term note secured by a first mortgage upon all the property in the receiver's hands." The plight of the first mortgage bondholder may now be imagined. He has not only lost his legal remedy for recovering his principal, but an equitable first mortgage has been put in front of his legal first mortgage. When, therefore, the first mortgage bond of American law is put

to the sole test for which it was intended, it only too frequently proves to be not worth the paper it was written upon. In course of time, no doubt, the interest on the bond may be resumed, and its value may be restored. But it is not in practice the security which it professes to be in theory. Equity has taken away what the law gave. Looking back over thirty years, the ordinary stockholder in a sound and well-conducted company like the Pennsylvania has been better off for dividends, and better secured as to principal, than the owner of the highly-valued first mortgage gold bonds of many American railroad corporations.

The prestige of the American first mortgage bond is so great and so undeserved, and its superiority to the ordinary English debenture so frequently asserted, that I shall borrow from Mr. Meade a concrete illustration of the risks a receiver is allowed to run. First of all, however, it may be asked whether the bondholders take the receivership and the receiver's certificates lying down? Apparently not, but they spend their money vainly in equitable suits.

"Existing creditors of the company are violently opposed to the issue of receiver's certificates of large amount, and often appeal

to the court not to allow the receiver to place this new incumbrance ahead of the lien on their security. Their pleas are, however, usually disregarded. The court usually stands by its own appointee, the receiver, and is usually guided as to the necessity of the issue of certificates by the receiver's recommendations. The amount of money which the receiver will spend upon the property depends on his conception of his duties."

So much for the practice as stated by a friendly writer. Now for the illustration. In 1896 the Baltimore and Ohio went into a receivership. Two receivers were appointed. The road was in a bad way. What was to be done? The proper thing, I submit, would have been for the receivers, acting as trustees for the bondholders, to endeavour first of all to sell the line on favourable terms to some stronger neighbour and competitor like the Pennsylvania or the Chesapeake. But the receivers were ambitious and clever. They saw a chance of making a reputation and took it. They issued receiver's certificates and car-trust certificates as freely as if they were in charge of the purse of Fortunatus. They spent enormous sums on reconstruction and equipment. Mr. Meade writes:—

"Earnings were heavily drawn upon, and

in many instances bondholders were forced to wait until the property on which they had a lien was put into condition to earn the interest. . . . This work was not carried through without severe opposition. Suit after suit was brought by security-holders to restrain the receivers from increasing the burdens of the property. It was urged that they were destroying the value of the first mortgage bonds by their reckless issue of certificates. . . . Their policy was denounced as a gross usurpation of power."

The policy, we are told, was abundantly justified by success. The efficiency and earning power of the road was improved. But mark the writer's summing up. "The Baltimore and Ohio receivers took great risks. They applied a desperate remedy to a desperate situation. Their success on this account was all the more conspicuous and brilliant." Running great risks! That is all very well for ordinary shareholders, who put their money into speculative securities knowing that they stand to win or lose much. But bondholders do not lend their money on those terms. They accept a small rate of interest in return for a guarantee that their principal is safe, and that if the interest fails, the principal can be promptly regained

by process of law. They stood to gain nothing except their principal by the desperate and brilliant risks run at their expense by the receivers. They naturally and rightly objected. Many of them probably sold their bonds at a heavy depreciation. It is no answer to say that it all turned out well in the end and that it was good business for the stockholders. The affair reflects credit, no doubt, on the managing skill and enterprise of the receivers; but it proves the emptiness of the theoretical superiority of first mortgage bonds in America over other prior charges, and should serve as a tremendous warning to investors not to put any faith in these documents beyond what may properly attach to an ordinary debenture. The bonds of a weak company, as I have said, may be less secure and reliable than the ordinary stock of a strong one.

In America, of course, these warnings are largely unnecessary; but bonds, even of industrial corporations in the United States and Canada, as well as in Mexico and South America, have been so widely and skilfully advertised in London, that the guileless investor, unaware of precedent and practice, fancies that he has got hold of a gilt-edged security with a fairly high rate of interest,

and that even in the event of bankruptcy his capital must be returned to him intact. This is a complete delusion. In most cases he is an unintentional speculator in loss, with very little to gain in case the company, after default, becomes a prosperous concern. From this point of view he would do far better to buy preference stock with a cumulative dividend. The bond buyer in a rickety railroad or industrial corporation surrenders the chance of participation in increased earnings in exchange for the doubtful guarantee of a fixed rate of interest and a legal document (which will probably be dishonoured) entitling him to prompt possession of the property in case of default.

American bonds are either for long or short terms. Of the long term bonds, which alone are suitable to the ordinary investor, there are three main varieties, namely, first and second mortgage bonds, collateral trust bonds, and car trust (or equipment) certificates. Owing to the established doctrine of receiverships, none of these are what they pretend to be—perfect securities. In every case the security depends upon the prosperity of the company or corporation and the amount of surplus revenue which remains after the interest on the bond has been paid. Pro-

vided a property is otherwise free and there is a guarantee that it shall remain unencumbered, I can see little to choose between a first mortgage bond, an equipment bond, and an ordinary debenture. But if there is any conceivable risk of bankruptcy the would-be investor, who is really in search of safety, should turn aside from the glittering bond and buy a public security issued by some respectable government or municipality.

A debenture may be defined as a certificate of debt issued by a corporation or company, without mortgage or collateral security. In the United States the debenture holder is legally an unsecured creditor; the bondholder is legally secured but equitably unsecured. What the debenture holder possesses is (1) a prior claim to earnings, and (2) a right of action against the company if they fail to pay him his interest or to repay him his principal when due. Of course, if there is a first mortgage upon the property of an undertaking which has issued debentures a first mortgage bond is better than a debenture. The purchaser of a debenture should take care that this is not and cannot be the case. The so-called income bond is a bond on which the interest or income is only payable according to the discretion of the directors,

though in the event of a receivership the principal must ultimately be repaid if the money will go round. In this respect it is superior to preference stock, but as the interest of an income bond is not cumulative, it is in another respect inferior to a cumulative preference. The objection to bonds of all kinds in countries whose courts do not allow the legal security to become effective has now been clearly stated. The capital may be lost or locked up for an indefinite time in a receivership. Otherwise the value of a specific security is, as we have seen, greatest where the assets of the company are really saleable apart from its good-will as a going concern. A land or pastoral company, or a well-situated shop with a valuable site, are cases in point. Machinery often proves almost worthless when an industrial company goes bankrupt. In England a right of foreclosure is a real and effective right, and a debenture with a trust deed containing this right and attaching sufficiently valuable freehold property to the debentures for the purpose, safeguards the security of the principal, apart from the earning power of the concern. Provision for a sinking fund is another valuable item that may appear in a debenture trust deed; and if the deed is properly drawn

and the assets attached are not undervalued, it will be found that the price of the debentures will shrink comparatively little when the profits of the company dwindle. This is naturally the reverse of an American bondholder's experience when his corporation begins to go downhill towards a receivership.

To sum up the matter. An investor who really wishes to sleep over his debentures, and is not disposed to haggle about a quarter or half per cent., should first and foremost look to see what margin there has been of earnings over and above fixed charges in years of depression. Next he will read the trust deed, if any, to see the nature of the debenture or mortgage issue. Then he will find out what sort of consideration the courts of justice of the country or State in which the corporation is formed are accustomed to give (a) to bondholders in case the concern goes bankrupt, and (b) to foreigners. English investors often find that litigation in foreign courts is merely throwing good money after bad. A British company, whether working abroad or at home, is certainly to be preferred to a foreign company, other things being equal. American company law varies from State to State, and is often most unsatisfactory to shareholders. Lastly, let the

investor keep always in mind that an ill-covered bond, so far from being a gilt-edged security, may be of all speculations the one least likely to prove profitable.

When we leave debentures or bonds to buy company stock we put aside all thought of trying to secure our principal in the event of failure and bankruptcy. As a rule, the purchaser, even of a preference stock, can only claim that it ranks before ordinary stock in the distribution of earnings. True it is sometimes provided that in the event of a company being dissolved or wound up, either compulsorily or voluntarily, the holders of preferred stock shall rank before the holders of ordinary or common stock in the distribution of assets. But in such cases there are not likely to be any assets left after the creditors have been satisfied. There are various other legal devices by which the technical position of a preference holder may be strengthened in the articles of association or incorporation, and of these, perhaps the most valuable is a limitation on the power of the directors to mortgage the property; for of course mortgages and debentures take precedence of preferred stock, and every addition to indebtedness impairs the position of preference shareholders. The main division of

preference stocks is, however, into cumulative and non-cumulative. "Cumulative" means, in the case of companies whose profits fluctuate heavily, that in good times the preference shareholder may hope to recover in a lump the dividends which he has lost in whole or in part during periods of depression. But as the control of a company is usually possessed by the common stock it often happens that this right has to be compromised during a reconstruction. That is to say, in order to avoid a winding up, in which everything might be lost, the preference shareholder has to consent to forego his past claims for the sake of keeping the company and his future hopes alive. But, of course, the cumulative type is far the better. The ordinary stock of good railways is often an excellent investment in times of depression and bad trade. Concerning the common stock in American industrial companies, a critical student observes: "It is usually sold at a low figure, liberal representations concerning anticipated earnings being made to influence its purchase. These representations are not often realised."

One or two general observations upon investments in both ordinary and preference shares may fitly close this chapter. In the first place, a natural monopoly or a franchise

conferred by public charter is the most stable basis for investment. The most dangerous imaginable prop for a company to rest upon is a bounty or a protective tariff which may at any time be withdrawn or swept away. An industry which flourishes without tariff aid in a protected country is presumably in a very strong condition. The most important consideration of all is the management, and here the advantage of investment in a local concern with which the investor is well acquainted can readily be perceived. If some change in the management occurs of which he disapproves, he can probably get out without much loss (if there is any sort of a market) before the concern begins to go downhill. Last, but not least, the time to invest in industrial and commercial enterprises of all kinds is in periods of trade depression, when dividends and prices are low. A prospectus of a new company usually appears in moments of buoyancy and prosperity, and on such occasions a subscription is of course likely to prove unfortunate. But this consideration does not, of course, apply to new issues of well-established companies, which may at any time require more capital for the profitable extension of business.

CHAPTER VI

SPECULATIVE SECURITIES AND MODES OF SPECULATION

PROBABLY even in an old and conservative country like England the average investor is a speculator in the sense that he not only wishes his investment to yield him interest but also hopes and expects that he will some day be able to sell out at a profit. Such an aspiration is perfectly natural and legitimate. Anybody who has large sums to invest will very properly ask : " Is this a good time for investment ? " meaning, of course : " Are stocks just now cheap and below their normal level ? " Thus, towards the close of a war the credit of the belligerents is apt to be abnormally low, and so long as there is enough revenue left to pay interest on the debt there is a good opportunity for investment. Many investors in England and France made very handsome profits by buying Spanish bonds during Spain's war with the United States,

or the bonds of Russia and Japan when those two Powers were at war in Manchuria. In this respect speculative panics and banking crises resemble wars. Immense profits were reaped by purchasers of American railroad stocks in the autumn and winter of 1907, when the American market, owing to the complete collapse of credit, was in a state of prostration, and dozens of sound securities had fallen 50 per cent. below their normal value. But when stocks or commodities are really cheap the public is usually timid; when they rise to absurd heights it rushes in and buys madly. A man really seems to require a great and unusual amount of courage to buy freely when securities are cheap, and none at all to buy when they are dear. People think and act in mobs; and the speculative fever always rages in an atmosphere of high prices.

But a very sharp distinction must be drawn between the speculator who buys speculative securities, or "rubbish," and the speculator who buys sound investment stocks. Thus in the American market there are well-known gambling counters such as Erie or Wabash or Southern Common—non-dividend payers—which have no intrinsic value and therefore

move very rapidly in times of excitement. There is all the difference in the world between these and the Union Pacific, which has paid a dividend of 10 per cent. for several years past. And yet in the last six years the Union Pacific has fluctuated between a maximum of 211 and a minimum of 74. Most remarkable certainly—almost romantic—is the history of this line. A friend of mine of middle age well remembers buying Union Pacifics at 8 and selling out at 13. In periods of excitement these marvels are dilated upon, and new Harrimans are conjured up who might perform similar wonders with the Erie or the Southern Railway. But nearly all markets have rubbishy shares which serve as gambling counters. Thus the foreign market has the bonds of Honduras, and of other defaulting states, or provinces, or municipalities, of Central and South America. Every industrial market has ordinary shares in well-watered companies which may have been successful in their day, but are now practically hopeless. Even our staid Home Railways have weaker brethren, who seldom show their heads above the dividend line.

But there is one whole class of securities which are essentially speculative from causes

peculiar to themselves. The mining markets and the new market for shares in rubber securities are speculative, not because they yield no dividends but because it is so difficult to form a correct estimate of their value from month to month or from year to year. There are, for example, the South African gold mines, known as "Kaffirs," which date from the sensational discoveries on the Rand in the eighties of last century. There is the great De Beers monopoly of diamonds at Kimberley—a monopoly created by Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Beit, but now threatened by the discoveries in German South-West Africa. There are the silver mines of the United States, Mexico and Canada. There are copper mines innumerable in all parts of the world from Rio Tinto, most ancient and renowned of all, in Spain, to the latest American discoveries. There are the old tin mines of Cornwall, the modern tin mines of Malay and the modernest of Nigeria. Nor have we mentioned the gold, silver, and copper mines of Australia, among which Coolgardie and Broken Hill are pre-eminent, or the gold mines of West Africa, familiarly called the Jungle in Throgmorton Street. In the year 1907 the leading producers of gold were—

	Ounces.
Africa	7,536,000
U.S.A.	4,335,000
Australia	3,619,000
Mexico	925,000
Russia	900,000

The Mining List of the London Stock Exchange contains a vast selection of good, bad, and indifferent companies. But even the best are rather speculative. And why? First of all, they are dwindling securities. A mine which has yielded an average of 10 per cent in dividends for the last five years looks very cheap, but may be very dear; for it may not have more than ten years of profitable life. Buying shares in a successful mine is a little like buying the unexpired lease of a house without knowing the date at which it will expire.

In the second place, however honestly, however scientifically conducted a mine may be, it is practically impossible in nearly all cases (even assuming the market value of the ore to remain stable) to estimate its value for investment. When will the mine be worked out? When will it cease to pay? Nobody knows; even the experts can only guess, and

their public guesses are not always believed. The truth is that, in the flotation and finance of mines, engineers and geologists play very much the same part that valuers do as witnesses in arbitrations and rating appeals. It is their business to make out the best valuation they can for their clients, and every mining failure in the world has been introduced to the credulous public by highly coloured pseudo-scientific "reports" from "eminent geologists."

Gold exercises a mysterious attraction over the uneducated mind, especially in the City and on the Stock Exchange. A tiny parcel of gold is watched with far more interest than a large cargo of mutton. The very elect are sometimes strangely excited over the import or export of a few thousand sovereigns or a small quantity of bullion. Hence it has been found easy to float a gold mine on less evidence of the existence of gold than would be needed in any other case—though perhaps "Baron" Albert Grant's "Emma" silver mine might be cited by partisans of the white rival. The unfortunate purchasers of Emma shares found out afterwards that there was neither silver nor title, and eventually for every £20 subscribed they received back only a

paltry shilling. Most people have heard the punning epigram—

“Titles a king can give, honours he can't ;
Titles without honour are but a Baron Grant.”

But it is less commonly known that after the Emma Silver Mine fiasco some wit added—

“Yes, but you're in an even worse dilemma
If you cannot get a title to your Emma.”

Nevertheless, while the ordinary mining prospectus should be put into the waste-paper basket by any one who is not a mining expert with special knowledge, well-established mines of all kinds, from coal to gold, are legitimate, useful, and often profitable ventures. If the risk is well understood and well distributed, and if the wasting character of the securities is generously allowed for by the recipient of dividends, there is no reason why people of fortune should not include a proportion of mining shares in their holdings.

The degree of risk that attaches depends largely upon the nature of the product. Gold, fortunately for gold-standard countries, has proved itself to be during the last hundred years one of the stablest of all commodities. Of course the nominal price of gold in a country

with a gold currency does not vary at all. By the regulation of the London Mint, an ounce of standard gold bullion is coined into £3 17s. 10½d. But people seldom take gold bullion to the Mint, as they would have to wait some time before receiving the coin. The Bank of England acts as an intermediary. It takes gold at £3 17s. 9d. and pays cash, the difference of three halfpence per ounce between the Bank price and the Mint price representing the Bank's discount and its charge for the work involved. Since the closing of the Indian Mints in 1893 to the free coinage of silver, the Indian rupee has been fixed at 1s. 4d. and is therefore now a silver representative of a gold standard. Australia coins sovereigns of the same weight and fineness as England, while in Canada the British sovereign and the United States eagle are both legal tender to any amount. The currency of the United States is much complicated and sadly in need of reform. But the standard is really gold, the units being the gold dollar weighing 25·8 grains and the gold eagle (or ten-dollar piece) weighing 258 grains. An English sovereign exchanges for about 4 dollars 87 cents. But though the price of gold is necessarily invariable in countries where there is a real

gold standard, and where the Government undertakes to coin gold at a fixed rate by weight, it does not follow that the real price of gold is immutable. As a matter of fact it varies constantly. For the real price of gold is its purchasing power. In a silver-standard country the price of silver is fixed, while the price of gold is the amount you can purchase at any time in the standard silver coin.

Hence in Great Britain, or the colonies, or the United States, when we talk of rising or falling prices we are talking of gold prices. When we say that prices are rising we mean that the value or purchasing power of gold is diminishing, and when we say that prices are falling we mean that its value or purchasing power is rising. It is, therefore, wrong to think of a gold mine as producing a metal whose value is fixed or permanent. Its price in a gold standard country is fixed, but its value varies. Nevertheless, the comparative stability of gold (proved by index numbers which measure it in terms of commodities) does certainly reduce one of the speculative elements that play an important part in mining shares.

After gold probably silver and iron and

coal come next in order of stability ; though silver has fallen enormously in the last forty years. From 1868 to 1872 the average price of silver was 60 pence per ounce. In 1902-3 it fetched only 24 pence. Iron mines are now very largely owned by iron and steel companies, of which the hugest example is the Steel Trust of the United States—a vast concern built up by Mr. Carnegie and sold on his retirement to Messrs. J. P. Morgan & Co., who formed thereout the Billion Dollar Trust. It is said to own something like half the iron ore of the United States, and it manufactures all kinds of iron and steel goods. It has also the distinction of being almost the only United States industrial corporation whose securities are dealt in freely on the London Stock Exchange and quoted on the London Stock Exchange List. As the value of iron is more likely to increase than diminish, its debentures are probably at least as good a security as those of a first-class railway company. A good deal of water has been squeezed out of the ordinary shares by the application of profits to capital; and the profits ought to be increased rather than diminished, if a sweeping reduction of the American Tariff—now a possible if not a

probable event—should be effected, bringing with it a diminution in the cost of production. That the American iron and steel industry needs no protection is generally admitted.

No doubt the most speculative ores are copper and tin, and in these cases the investor must expect his shares to fluctuate as wildly as the metals. A boom in trade usually raises the prices of tin and copper far above their normal level, and a slump like that of October 1907 causes a corresponding dip or depression. Thus between 1904 and the spring of 1907 the price of copper nearly doubled, and that of tin rose about 40 per cent. Tin, however, is more easily cornered than copper, as the output is much smaller.

Speculation in the metal soon brings about an inflation of the shares, and when the bubble is pricked many of those who fancied they were successful investors, awake to discover that they have been unsuccessful gamblers. The shadow thrown by commodity prices on share prices is often a long one, simply because a small fall may wipe out profits and dividends. Thus the movements of copper company shares are apt to be far more violent than those of copper. The shares of Amalgamated Copper fluctuated

in 1904 between a lowest of 44 and a highest of 85, in 1907 between a lowest of 43 and a highest of 124. The great Rio Tinto mines of Spain, on the other hand, produce other metals also, and so have been more steady.

A comparatively new commodity, rubber, promises to outdo even copper in rapidity of movement; for its price has moved in the last few years from 3s. per lb. to 12s., and back in the summer and autumn of 1910 from 12s. to 6s. Until recent years practically all the rubber marketed was "wild" rubber; that is to say, it was obtained by tapping wild rubber trees, mainly in Brazil and the Congo. Fortunately for humanity—seeing that the collection of wild rubber, especially in the Congo, has been accompanied by the most atrocious barbarities—it has been discovered that the "*Hevea Brasiliensis*," the best variety of rubber tree, can be cultivated successfully in the Malay Peninsula, Ceylon, and some other tropical countries. A few of the first experimental plantations produced remarkable results, and already in 1908 and 1909 a good many Englishmen and Scots, who had special knowledge of their own, began to invest in rubber plantations. Towards the end of 1909, as rubber rose in price,

owing to a greatly increased demand from the United States for motor tyres, etc., it began to dawn on the public that rubber investments offered phenomenal profits. Just because a few skilfully managed plantations, with rubber at an exceptionally high price, did really seem to be worth many times the original capital, it was assumed that rubber trees could be planted by anybody almost anywhere so as to yield similarly marvellous results. The London company promoters saw their opportunity. The public was evidently "on the feed." It wanted rubber shares, and it got them to the tune of many millions in the spring of 1910. There were plenty of unsuccessful planters of tea, coffee, etc., in Ceylon and Malaya, who were delighted to sell "suitable" land at some high multiple of its true value. So boards of directors were assembled, printing presses were set to work, and hundreds of rubber plantation companies were floated upon a credulous and voracious public. Clerks and office boys, footmen and nursemaids, subscribed with eagerness, and followed the tips of the *Daily Menace* with the unsuspecting simplicity of their masters and mistresses. It was a sad example of plundering and blundering.

Never, perhaps, since the Kaffir boom had so many small savings been transferred into less meritorious pockets.

But the distinctions between speculation and investment are by no means exhausted by merely regarding the quality of the purchase. It is true that a man who buys Erie Common, or Nicaragua bonds, or puts his money into a new rubber company, is a speculator, while a man who buys Pennsylvania Stock or German Threes, or puts his money into a new issue of an English municipality, is an investor. But there is plenty of speculation in gilt-edged securities; and in ordinary times the typical speculator is the fool who gambles with borrowed money. A man with £100 who buys a Central American "security" and puts it away in the hope that (though it yields him no interest) it will rise before long and enable him to clear out at a handsome profit is far less likely to suffer than the man who buys, say, £5,000 of some good security for the account, and uses his hundred pounds to pay contangoes and differences. How heavy are the odds against this sort of speculator we have shown by statistics in our chapter on Wall Street. But as long as civilisation lasts people will

go on playing this foolish game in the face of all experience. Just as in the case of a lottery the chance of a gain outweighs the probability of a loss.

A correspondent of mine once inquired: "Is 5 per cent. necessarily speculative? Is 6 per cent. only to be had from speculations? Is it gambling to buy mining shares which yield anything between 5 and 10 per cent.? Where can the line be drawn?" A stock-broker, being asked wherein consisted the difference between investment and speculation answered that speculation means dealing for carry-over purposes, while investment applies to any case where the purchase is paid for. Another, with a Balfourian turn of mind, held that the real distinction depends on the intention of the purchaser. If a man buys a security and takes it up to hold he is an investor, no matter what the security may be, no matter how rash or prudent the choice. On this view there are different kinds of investors. Thus one buys gilt-edged securities if the chief object is to make absolutely sure of regular dividends; or, again, if the main desire is to have a large income another will buy ordinary and preference stocks with a high yield regardless of risk. Lastly, those who aim at a

future appreciation of capital rather than at immediate or regular dividends, may buy a speculative stock like Grand Trunk, or Steel Common, or some unlucky industrial, which appears to be struggling out of its difficulties, intending of course to watch it carefully and look ahead (which is what the word "speculation" implies), whereas the gilt-edged man prefers something he can sleep over. Upon this view speculation comes in where the buyer's intention is not to pay but to get out with a profit if possible before the end of the account, or after a series of continuations at some future account. Such a man may fairly be said to be playing or gambling with his money, and not dealing with it seriously or permanently as it is the intention of an investor to do. I am not quite satisfied to allow the distinction between speculation and investment to rest upon intention. The foundation is rather too slippery. It reminds me of the eminent sophist who, at an early stage of our fiscal controversy, argued that the question whether a duty is protective or not depends upon whether the Government imposing it *intended* it to be protective.

If, as a matter of fact, a man is running risks and is speculating he cannot be called

an investor on the ground that he is unaware of the fact that he is running speculative risks. Perhaps a distinction may be drawn, however, between a member of the outside public and a person who is actually in the market. The moment an outsider begins to borrow, and gets out of his depths, he is certainly gambling or speculating, even if the stocks he is interested in are Consols. On the other hand, a member of the Stock Exchange, who makes a regular business of buying and selling shares, can hardly be called a speculator in any vicious sense if he works with borrowed money. A member of the Stock Exchange almost always has an interest in the market, and probably uses his credit freely; but it is difficult to see much difference between him and a wholesale dealer or merchant in wheat, cotton, wool, etc., who often has to rely on his banker for 75 per cent. of the value of his purchases.

So much for the difference between speculation and investment. But we have still to touch upon the technical side of the subject, which calls for a brief statement of the mode or modes of conducting speculation on the London Stock Exchange; and for this purpose we may accept as a practical definition of the

speculator a person who interests himself in the temporary fluctuations of shares, who bets or wagers (though not within the meaning of the Gaming Acts) that certain securities will rise or fall. If the contract were a gaming contract within the meaning of the Gaming Acts it would be null and void in the eyes of the law, and neither party would be able to enforce it. The reason why a speculative contract with a Stock Exchange broker is legal and enforceable is that the motive of the buyer or seller has nothing to do with the contract. The broker may not, and often does not, know whether his client will take up the purchase, or whether he will actually part with the stock which he instructs the broker to sell. One plain difference between a Stock Exchange speculation and a bet upon a horse is that in the case of the bet one party loses and the other gains, whereas if A commissions B to buy him £100 of shares and they rise to £110, B loses nothing by paying £10 to A on the conclusion of the account. But, generally speaking, when speculation in stocks is carried on with an outside broker or "bucket shop" (*i. e.* between two principals) the law holds it to be a gaming contract. This is in itself a sufficient reason against speculative persons

dealing with these establishments. If they win heavily they will very likely not be paid.

The reader will probably have a pretty clear idea from previous chapters of the two kinds of speculation—for the rise and for the fall. The Bull, who speculates for the rise, buys stock, and the Bear, who speculates for the fall, sells it. The one buys in the hope of selling at a profit; the other sells in the hope of buying back after the stock has cheapened, and so pocketing the difference. A bear operator is said to sell "short," because he sells what he has not got, and when the time comes to fulfil the contract he has to borrow stock. As the fluctuations of stock—their ups and downs—must on the average over a long period be more or less equivalent, it would follow that the operator least likely to lose would be the person with a "flair" for the market who was just as ready to be a bear as to be a bull. But as a matter of fact the great majority of speculators are always bulls. Optimism seems to be of the essence of speculation. A boom like the Kaffir boom, or the rubber boom, requires the enthusiastic co-operation of a credulous public. The public understands how it may make money

out of a rise, but it cannot understand how to make money out of a fall. So it will borrow for the rise but not for the fall.

On the London Stock Exchange there are monthly accounts or settlements for the Consol market, and "fortnightly" accounts, varying from 11 to 14 days, for other stocks. The actual account or settlement covers four days: (1) the Mining Contango Day; (2) the general Contango Day; (3) the Ticket or Name day; (4) the Account Day, formerly known as the Settlement, or Pay Day. Account therefore means either the whole "fortnight" or month over which an account runs, or the actual days of settlement, or the Fourth Day of the Settlement. For "Contango" another name is "Continuation" or "Carry over." The two Contango days are of comparatively modern growth, necessitated by the increasing volume of speculative accounts which require extra days for the settling of bargains. Stocks and shares bought or sold for the current account must be either paid for on Pay Day, or carried over (continued) on Contango Day. The speculator for the rise, who does not wish to cut a loss or realise a profit, instructs his broker to carry over or continue his shares. In that case the transaction is postponed for a

consideration, and interest is charged for holding over the stock to the next settlement. This interest is called the contango rate. Thus, as a rule, the bull pays a contango rate, and the bear who is speculating for a fall is said to "take in" the securities and to receive the rate or contango. But sometimes in a depressed and bearish market, the bear has to pay a "backwardation" instead of receiving a contango. It is all a question of demand and supply. If there is a demand for money and a plentiful supply of stock there is a contango; if there is a scarcity of stock for delivery against sales there is a "backwardation" to be paid by sellers who are short of stock. If on balance there are securities which cannot be adjusted, the bulls have to pay for an excess, or the bears for a deficiency. In the case of the bears this means either delivering the stock they have sold, or borrowing it from a holder, undertaking to replace it on the next account day. All this is very difficult and technical. But it is worth even the investor's while to master the rudiments of the subject; for temporary causes of market fluctuations have to be allowed for. Enough has at least been said to show that the bull is a fictitious buyer, who borrows money in order to keep his purchase going, while the

bear is a fictitious seller, who borrows stock in order to keep his sale going. Both have to pay commissions, either at each account or at the end of the transaction, and both either pay or receive "differences" according as they gain or lose during each account. The student of market fluctuations is interested in the contango rate. If it is high it shows that there are a great number of bulls, if it is low or disappears into a "backwardation" it shows that the bears are predominant. In either event there is likely to be a change in the market as a result of profit-taking along with real sales in the one case and real purchases in the other. But of late years another kind of speculation has become fashionable, which tends to rob stock exchange operators of this index to the condition and immediate future of a market. Instead of paying contango rates and commissions, a speculator will pledge securities with his bank, and with the loan so obtained will buy other securities and hold for a rise. The advantage of this method is that there is no commission or contango rate. The disadvantage to the mere gambler is that his speculation is limited by the amount of securities he can pledge. Moreover, the scientific operator, who wishes to benefit by foreseeing a fall as well as a rise,

is helpless. If he leans on a banker's loan he can only be a bull; if he wants to sell stock short he must go to a broker and follow the method above described.

It remains to describe "options," a favourite method with members of the Stock Exchange and one much in vogue with foreigners. There are three kinds of options.

(1) The Put. Smith contracts to pay Jones money for the right to sell him a certain security on a given date, at a named price.

(2) The Call. Smith contracts to pay Jones money for the right to buy from him a certain security on a given date, at a named price.

(3) The Put and Call, or Double Option, known in Wall Street as a "straddle." Under this the person who buys the option buys the right either to sell or buy the security named on a given date, at a named price. The double option usually costs double as much as the Put or the Call.

If the line between common speculative accounts and a bet or wager appears rather fine, it is almost invisible in the case of options to the naked eye of an ordinary observer, and hardly visible in the case of a double option, even to the sharp eye of judges whose lives have been given up to the making and refining of distinctions.

*discreminate
insinuating* 96

CHAPTER VII

WHY THE PRICES OF SECURITIES RISE AND FALL

To the economist few inquiries are more difficult or more fascinating than that which is directed to the causes of price movements. It leads him into the remotest abstractions of monetary theory, into subtle disquisitions on the delicate fabric of credit, and sometimes carries him through a maze of statistics into imaginary parallels between the recurrence of sun spots and of commercial crises. To the business man who must always be something of a speculator—for he wants to buy for the future when things are cheap and be short of stock when they are dear—a scent for prices is of overwhelming practical importance. But he can seldom afford to take long views. He proceeds mainly by rule of thumb. The gold problem, and the silver problem, and the credit problem are to him unsolved and insoluble puzzles. Perhaps, even if he could

understand the professors, he would not get along very much better.

Still there are principles and rules drawn partly from experience, partly from the operations of reason and common sense, which deserve to be plainly stated even though our space is altogether too limited for any exhaustive discussion. In the first place, the prices both of commodities and securities depend upon the law of supply and demand. If, while the world's demands for woollen and worsted cloth remain unchanged the supply of sheep's wool increases, then the price of wool is bound to fall; if it decreases, then the price must rise. Again, if the supply of wool remains constant, and the demand for cloth rises or falls, the price of wool will rise or fall until an equilibrium is attained. Other things being equal, an increase of supply or a diminution of the demand lowers the price, while a decrease of the supply or an augmentation of the demand raises it. Thus when—to meet the expenses of the Boer War—our Government issued more than 150 millions of Consols and Exchequer bonds, and Treasury bills, the price of Consols fell heavily; and when the war was over, it was found that the proportion by which the National Debt had

increased corresponded almost exactly with the proportion by which the price of Consols had fallen, showing that the public demand for gilt-edged securities had remained fairly constant. There is therefore at least one fundamental cause of price variations which applies equally to commodities and securities.

Again, as was indicated in the preceding chapter, a close parallelism is to be found when you have a security whose rate of interest depends on the profit derived from a raw material. The shares in copper mines, or tin mines, or rubber plantations, are obvious cases in point. The market for the shares fluctuates freely with the selling price of the product. It was the enormous rise in the price of rubber from 3s. to 12s. per lb. that caused the rubber share boom; and as soon as the prices of rubber at the auctions in Mining Lane began to fall the downward movement in rubber shares commenced. While rubber prices were at the top, rubber plantation companies were floated successfully by the hour. When the slump came the fish ceased to bite, and the company promoter turned his attention from rubber to other things.

Another supposed connection between commodity prices and security prices may be

to become suddenly prosperous

noted. Except in countries with a silver standard, or in those unhappy communities which are at the mercy of an inconvertible paper currency, prices mean gold prices. Hence a great increase in the production of gold tends to reduce its purchasing power and so to raise prices, while a great diminution in the output tends to increase the purchasing power and so to lower the general level of prices. But in the case of interest-bearing securities this factor is almost negligible; for the value of the security depends primarily upon the rate of interest which it bears, and the rate of interest has no real connection with the relation between the quantity of gold in the world and the quantity of securities. Roughly speaking, the yield of Consols was much the same (about 3 per cent.) in 1750, in 1850, and in 1910; but of course the output of gold and the relation between gold and securities, or gold and silver, or gold and credit were so entirely different at the three dates that no scientific mind would dream of attempting to bring these things into comparison. The fluctuations of the Bank of England's gold reserve are a barometer of the London money market, and gilt-edged securities naturally tend to fall when the short loan

Gold certificates in evidence of debt properly

and discount rates rise. But the price, or purchasing power, of gold has no connection with the price of money or credit. Money may become dearer while the output of gold diminishes, or cheaper while it increases.

And here for the sake of clearness, in order to make quite plain what money is and what it does and why its purchasing power varies at different times in the same country, and at the same time in different countries where different standards or different tariffs are in force, we shall permit ourselves to digress a little upon the meaning of money.

Modern monetary systems may be divided into three main varieties—gold standard, silver standard, and inconvertible paper. Gold standard countries usually have a token currency of silver and copper or nickel for the convenience of retail purchases, and also bank-notes issued by the authority of the State for the transference of large sums. If the gold standard is absolute, as in England, then bank-notes are absolutely and at all times convertible into gold. In France, which retains a system aptly described as limping bimetallism, the notes of the bank of France may be met by that institution in either gold or silver, and as the silver is not worth its face value

a bill on Paris cannot compete with a bill on London for international purposes. But in France and in all the countries of the Latin Union, however large the stock of silver and however much silver predominates in the actual currency, the prices current are gold prices, the purchasing power of the silver coin being not its intrinsic value but its conventional value as a fraction of the napoleon or other gold coin having a certain fineness and weight. Thus so many sovereigns exchange for so many napoleons simply because both are gold coins of a known weight; and so many shillings exchange for so many francs because 20 shillings go to a pound and 20 francs to a napoleon. In China, on the other hand, which (in so far as it has any standard at all) has a silver standard, the prices are silver prices, and their movements are quite independent of movements in gold-standard countries. Thus in a given month the price of wheat or rice may fall in Peking while it rises in Paris or London. This means that all the world over an ounce of silver will buy more wheat at the end of the month than at the beginning, and, conversely, that an ounce of gold will buy less wheat all the world over, at the end than at the beginning of the month.

It also means that the price of silver in gold currency has risen while the price of gold in silver currency has fallen.

The worst kind of currency is an inconvertible paper currency, and some important countries, such as Russia and Brazil, are still on a paper basis. They endeavour however, by keeping a large gold reserve in a central bank, to maintain a fixed relation between gold and paper. Where no such relation is maintained, as in Chile, the most deplorable and fraudulent confusions result. There is, indeed, nothing so demoralising to business as an inconvertible paper currency which fluctuates in accordance with the "discretion" of a corrupt Government. It will be seen, then, that commercial relations between gold-using countries are comparatively simple, but that exchanges between gold and silver standard countries, or gold and paper countries, may be extremely changeful and hazardous. In such cases a speculative element enters into international transactions. It was this consideration among others that prompted the British Government to regulate the Indian currency and to fix the value of the rupee so that the external trade of India with its chief customers might be simplified,

and its internal prices might not suffer from the fluctuations of a metal so variable as silver had then become.

The slight variations of exchange between gold-standard countries depend upon the balance of trade and indebtedness at any given time. If in order to balance indebtedness it is necessary to send gold from London to Paris or New York the exchange is said to be unfavourable to England and vice versa. This uncertainty, it will readily be understood, introduces a slight element of speculation into the arbitrage dealings between the leading bourses.

But whether it be of gold, or silver, or paper, money in every country of the world is the measure of value and the medium of exchange. The price of a thing is its value as measured in the country's money. When the farmer exchanges his wheat for clothing and machinery, he does not barter. He first sells his wheat for money, and then uses the money to buy what he needs. The properties of good money—as the professors rightly declare—are that it should be portable, coinable, divisible, indestructible, and stable in value. “Portable” really means “precious” as gold or diamonds are precious, *i. e.*

small and costly. "Coinable" means that it can easily be melted, cast into equal sizes, and stamped with a recognisable mark. Thus gold, silver, copper, are ductile and coinable. "Divisible" means that it must not lose value when divided. Thus two half-ounces of gold or copper are worth as much as one ounce. But if a large gem is cut into small ones it may lose most of its value. "Indestructibility" is a most important quality. The wear and tear of a gold coin is so incredibly small that hardly any saving is effected by keeping the gold in banks and issuing gold certificates like the one-pound notes in Scotland. The possession in so remarkable degree of all these qualities has led to the establishment of gold as the standard of value and measure of exchange in most countries, with silver as the subsidiary coin and copper or nickel as token for petty payments. The last-named property of good money—"stability in value"—requires a few words of explanation. By what can only be described as a piece of great good fortune the value (that is to say the purchasing power) of gold has been during the last century extraordinarily steady. If you look at any particular commodity such as wheat, or wool,

or cotton, or iron, or silver, or rubber, you will find that its prices in gold fluctuate enormously from year to year, and sometimes even from month to month. But if you take twenty commodities you find that their prices hardly ever rise and fall together. Thus in the old days, when harvests were all-important, it used to be said that if wheat were cheap wool would be dear, and vice versa. For when the poor had cheap bread they could buy clothes, and so there was a greatly increased demand for wool, and wool necessarily rose in price. Of course a great diminution in the output of gold will ultimately increase its purchasing power and lower the general level of prices, whereas a great increase of the output, such as that which followed the gold discoveries in Australia in the middle, or the gold discoveries on the Rand at the end of last century, must tend to decrease the value and lower the purchasing power of gold, that is to raise the gold prices of commodities. But just because of its indestructibility the mass of gold in the world is so enormous in comparison with what the mines can add to it in a year that the effect of an increase or diminution in output is at first very slight; and whenever the supply is enlarged the effect

is apt to be balanced or nearly balanced either by an increase in the production of other commodities or by an enlarged demand for gold from Governments which have established a gold currency, or from banks which wish to strengthen their reserves of the precious metal.

The relation between gold and credit is subtle and difficult. Many able writers maintain stoutly that gold is the basis of credit, and city men are very fond of attributing changes in the price of money, movements of securities and upheavals of credit to gold production or gold movements. But gold is by no means essential to credit. Credit exists in all civilised countries, where there is a demand for it by substantial persons, without regard to the question whether there is a gold standard or not. The real basis of credit is credibility. Gold cannot make credit or cure credit. Bankers may come to grief at a time when the reserves of gold are unusually large. A bank with a 25 per cent. reserve of gold against its liabilities may collapse through misuse of credit when a bank with a 5 per cent. reserve, conservatively managed, may be perfectly safe and unassailable. On the other hand, great gold discoveries and a greatly increased output of

gold may cause a general rise of prices, which again may produce a fever of speculation. And as a speculative boom causes a strain upon credit, the money markets of the world become tight and a general crisis and depression will result. Thus there may be, and at times there is, a close causal connection between gold and credit or gold and speculation. The best known example is perhaps to be found in the events following the gold discoveries in Australia. But this inquiry would take us too far from our path.

But whatever be the relationship of gold to the money market, the money market certainly has a far greater effect upon the prices of securities than upon the prices of commodities. For speculative buying and selling affect nearly all classes of stocks and shares; and gilt-edged securities, which can be sold at a moment's notice, are always in demand when money is unlendable in the short loan market. At such a time capitalists who lend in this market are apt to buy consols and kindred securities, keeping them until money and discount rates rise. Thus consols tend to rise owing to professional buying, when money is cheap, and to fall, owing to professional selling, when money becomes dearer. There is there-

fore a real connection between the price of consols and the bank rate; and when the consol market hears of a probable or actual rise in the bank rate it usually anticipates this sequence and makes consols a fraction lower. And as a general rule a rise in the bank rate (by enhancing the charges for borrowed money) acts in restraint of speculation, not only in stocks and shares, but also in grain, cotton, copper, rubber, iron, tin and other commodities which lend themselves to speculation in futures.

But by this time a reader may be getting impatient. He may be saying, and probably is saying, to himself: "Why cannot he come to business, and tell me why Stock Exchange prices jump up and down in such extraordinary ways without the least regard to gold, or bank rate, or any of these abstruse phenomena?" Perhaps the writer has a secret sympathy with this critic. At any rate he will bow to the wish, and give as plain answer as he can to a plain question.

In the first place, apart altogether from the causes which affect the prices of commodities as well as the prices of securities, the value of a security depends mainly upon a quality or attribute which a bale of

cotton, or a ton of coal, or a suit of clothes, does not possess. It is either actually or potentially interest-bearing. This quality is visible in a bond with coupons attached. A bond like that for example which is bought by subscribers to a Prussian State loan will have attached to it quarterly or half-yearly coupons, which can be cashed on the date when they become due anywhere in Germany, or in almost any great centre of finance. If the interest is 4 per cent. and the coupons are half-yearly, each coupon attached to a bond for a thousand marks will be exchangeable for 20 marks cash. If the Prussian Government promises to redeem the bond at the end of a period, say of twenty years, at par, it is obvious that at its maturity the bond will be worth par, neither more nor less. So if the purchaser got it at a subscription price of 990 marks he will get the principal back with 10 marks additional. In the mean time it will rise and fall according to the conditions, first of German credit, secondly of the international rate of interest. If the German Government has a long series of deficits, its credit will tend to fall; if it has a long series of surpluses and is so able to reduce debt, its credit will tend to rise. But these tendencies may be wholly

or in part counteracted by antagonistic movements of an international character. A great war like that between Japan and Russia destroys a vast amount of capital and absorbs vast quantities of savings. Money which might have bought German bonds was diverted by high and attractive rates of 5, 6 or 7 per cent. into the new bonds issued by Russia and Japan for the purpose of defraying war expenses. But the Prussian State bond, to which we have referred, is not likely to fluctuate much, and the limits of its fluctuation will be more and more restricted the more nearly it approaches its maturity, when the holder of it is entitled to be paid off in cash. Thus, while the intrinsic value of a coat or a pair of boots depends upon its warmth, durability, fit, etc., the value of a security depends mainly upon (1) the rate of interest, (2) the safety of the principal, (3) the likelihood of the principal or the rate of interest either rising or falling. The quality of a good bond is security of a fixed rate of interest and security of principal. The quality of a good share is the probability that it will rise in value, and that the rate of interest or dividend will improve. Here, then, we have the main causes of a rise or fall in securities.

But the business of Stock Exchange operators is to endeavour to forecast and discount in advance the natural fluctuations of intrinsic value. In the old days, before the telegraph, when postal communications were slow and untrustworthy, fortunes were made by getting early information, or spreading false information, of victories and defeats, which would enhance or depress the price of Government stocks. Thus the London stock-jobbers in the days of the French wars had private messengers and carrier pigeons to bring them news. In accordance with these reports, the insiders would first buy or sell the funds and then publish the report, and sell what they had bought to the public or buy from it what they had sold. The first Rothschild, or rather the founder of the house, laid the foundations of his immense fortune by getting early news of important events.

Nowadays the principle is still the same, but the art of anticipation has been made much more doubtful and complicated. Telegraphs and telephones are open to all. Every one can watch from day to day, and almost from hour to hour, the progress of wars and revolutions abroad. What everybody reads at the same time in his morning paper is of

no particular use to anybody in a speculative sense. Besides, many foreign governments—especially the sturdy borrowers—keep large funds in London and Paris for the express purpose of supporting the market. Hence in the market for Government bonds, except when insiders know in advance about some pending reorganisation of the finances of some discredited Government, big movements are rare, and the losses or profits they cause are widely distributed. Consequently successful jobbers in the foreign market of the London Stock Exchange, and in the consol market, live and flourish on their daily turnover rather than upon occasional speculative scoops, though no doubt their success largely depends upon their skill in acquiring a good store of stocks when they are cheap and upon being short of them when they are dear.

When we come to the prices of railroad and industrial stocks the causes of movement are much more difficult to detect, and the possibility of making large profits by inside knowledge is much greater. The newspapers may be the conscious or unconscious tools of the manipulators. In new countries the banks are apt to be a working part of the speculative

machinery. Thus in the United States those who use great fortunes in finance frequently have a controlling interest in a bank, or even in a chain of banks. What is called "a community of interests" may be established which will control perhaps important railroads and huge industrial corporations, as well as a number of banks and trust companies. The various ways in which such a "community" may manipulate a susceptible market like Wall Street might be made the subject of a long and fascinating volume. Suppose that a powerful group wishes to create the appearance, and even temporarily the reality, of a general trade depression in the United States, or at least to exaggerate a depression which actually exists. This is not at all impossible. The controlled railways may announce and partially carry out a policy of reduced orders for rails, equipment and repairs. They may ostentatiously proclaim an addition to the number of idle cars. Well-disciplined combinations of steel and textile mills may declare a curtailment of production—the closing of some mills, short time in others, etc. Banks may suddenly become ultra conservative; the open accounts and credits of small speculative customers

may be closed. In this way a general feeling of despondency can be created. Stocks will fall, partly in consequence of the action of the banks causing a compulsory liquidation of speculative accounts, partly through the voluntary action of speculators and speculative investors who think that trade, earnings, profits and dividends are likely to decline. Thus a bear market is created. The syndicate or pool or community of interests can now employ huge funds to advantage in profitable purchases of those stocks and shares which fall most and are most responsive to ups and downs of trade. Such a policy of course represents great difficulties and dangers. It must be carried out very cautiously, and very secretly, and very honourably as between the members. Leakages are disastrous. And if it is too successful it may create a slump, or a panic, leading to widespread ruin in which the community of interests may itself be seriously involved. For these and other technical reasons, touched upon in our chapter on Wall Street, the great American operators and manipulators do not very frequently enter upon a concerted plan for colossal bear operations. Such a course is unpopular. It offends public sentiment. Rapid ups and

downs of stocks and shares give a general and pleasurable excitement, appealing to the speculative nature and traditions of the people. But a long bearish movement, accompanied by unemployment, short time, reduced earnings and profits and general economies in the style of living and expenditure, produces or may produce all manner of unpleasant consequences—economic, social, and political. In fact, there is a sort of moral sentiment against bearish operations on a grand scale, which makes Wall Street (the greatest financial manipulator in the world) the home of the bull who tosses securities up rather than of the bear who tears them down. Big men—the so-called giants—often boast that they never operate on the short side, never play for a fall.

The sketch "bear" operation of a great community of interests, which has been outlined above, is therefore comparatively rare, cautious and temporary. Wall Street has of course to wait upon circumstances. Sometimes it is caught by circumstances. But whether circumstances hurt or hinder, it must always try to adjust itself to economic and political conditions. A political assassination, a war, a movement against the trusts,

unfavourable decisions in the courts, an unexpected downfall of the favourite party, a catastrophe like the San Francisco earthquake—such events as these may produce an irresistible and unforeseen flood of liquidation against which the strongest combination of bankers and corporation men will struggle in vain. In a general scramble produced by some unexpected event insiders and outsiders are for once on a par. But in such cases there is more likely to be a general loss than a general profit. For in the history of speculation the unsuspected and unexpected event is usually a calamity. Real prosperity is built up gradually. The Stock Exchange anticipates and exaggerates it, until the speculative fabric has been reared so high above the real foundation that a decline, which may become a crash, is seen to be inevitable. Generally speaking, with their superior knowledge of banking and trade conditions, the insiders are able to unload at high levels just as they have been able to load at low levels. We may draw from American experience this general conclusion, that by speculating in stocks of a national size and significance the outside public loses far more than it gains. It begins to buy

when they are dear, and it begins to sell when they are cheap. It knows nothing of "rigs," "corners," "pools," and "communities of interest," until long after they are dissolved. But the same person who loses in the general market may gain in the local market. Take, say, the inhabitant of a rising provincial town in one of the Western States. He may lose heavily in Southern, or Erie, or Steels, or Union Pacific. But he may make a modest fortune by judicious investments in local light railways (often called in America "inter urban") or industrial corporations, or trading companies, of which Wall Street knows nothing.

For the purposes of scientific analysis we may rest our theory of Stock Exchange quotations upon a distinction between prices and values. Prices are temporary; they shift rapidly; values are intrinsic; they move slowly. The price represents the momentary market view of a stock or bond—what you can get for it on the exchange if you instruct your broker to sell. The value is the real worth—a thing undefinable and impossible to ascertain. If the real value were ascertainable and available to the public then price and value would be identical, and in

the case of gilt-edged securities we may say that price and value are as nearly as possible identical. For intrinsic values do change, like everything else in this world. They may be said, in the case of bonds and preference stocks to depend mainly upon—

1. The rate of interest.
2. The margin of surplus earning power, or revenue.

In the case of a bond there is also, first, the quality of the security pledged as guarantee of the principal, and, second, the date of maturity or redemption. The first may change, as land, buildings, machinery, etc., change in value. The second is always changing, getting nearer day by day.

Both stocks and bonds are, of course, also affected in their intrinsic value by the money market and by the relationship of the supply of capital seeking investment to the demand for capital by new flotations. When the new demand exceeds the supply of new money capital is withdrawn from old issues, and values tend to fall. The intrinsic value of common stock depends also in a supreme degree upon the actual efficiency of the corporation or company, the condition of its plant, the

skill of its management, and the contentment, intelligence and industry of its whole staff.

Of course, all these changeful elements of intrinsic value enter into prices. But as prices sometimes fluctuate violently from day to day, and even from hour to hour, it is obvious that they must also be affected by other causes. What these are, or may be, the reader will now be able to supply for himself. But they may be summed up under one or two heads:—

1. False rumours, which have got about either by design or through the carelessness and mistakes of newsmongers. Very often a depressing rumour is merely a gross exaggeration of some tiny bit of comparatively trifling truth.
2. Rigs, pools, combinations and other technical devices by which the market is either flooded with, or made bare of, a particular stock or groups of stock.

A competent, and by no means unfriendly, observer of Wall Street, where manipulation is a fine art, thus describes the class of professional speculators "who make the stock market their life study and business."

"These men base their operations, or try to, on values as measured by income; but they

study value so as to be able to buy at less than value, and then they work to sell at as much more than value as they can get. They employ every means in their power to make stocks attractive to investors and other possible buyers when they are 'long' and want to sell, or to make the market appear doubtful or dangerous when they are 'short' and want to buy."

This may help the outsider to realise why "for days, weeks, and sometimes for months," prices may represent manipulation rather than intrinsic value. This may also help him to see why a clever man, who really wants to speculate with any probability of success, must become the member of a great Stock Exchange or enter a community of financial interests. It is safe to invest, but it is utterly unsafe to speculate, on intrinsic values. The insider who spends his life in watching and manipulating prices is often a very poor investor, a very poor judge of intrinsic values. The outsider surveying the world's politics and finance and commerce with a calm and unimpassioned judgment may be, and probably is, an excellent investor; but if he attempts to guess at prices by the day and the week without inside knowledge he is sure to come to grief.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CREATION OF NEW DEBT AND CAPITAL

FOR many reasons a good citizen, as well as a good investor, should take some trouble to understand the methods by which governments and municipalities and companies borrow, or obtain new capital. Anybody who can criticise public finance is a useful and influential person. The investor who can criticise prospectuses and balance-sheets for himself is in a strong position; for both are protected by an atmosphere of advertisement from the great majority of newspaper critics. The city journalist is seldom allowed a free hand. It is a bad policy for both parties. The reader of a city page wants neither puff nor blackmail, but honest, discriminating, responsible criticism; and if he does not get it he may either drop the newspaper or drop the idea of subscribing for the issue. What he usually finds in his newspaper, when a

prospectus is advertised, is a colourless summary; and sometimes the prospectus is preceded a few days before by some article, apparently spontaneous, but really paid for, descanting upon the wonderful resources of the region which the new company is going to exploit, or the extraordinary profits likely to be derived by the lucky person who invests, from the very thing on which the prospectus is going to found its appeal. Impetunious foreign governments and municipalities often condescend to bait the ground beforehand with carefully prepared statistics of their prosperity. The beggar's rags excite charity, but the investor's purse is not opened by pity. When a country is on the verge of a new loan it is apt to appear before its creditors in very fine raiment. Boasting precedes borrowing. This, of course, does not apply to first-class countries, whose debts are gilt-edged securities. They merely issue statements of what money they want, and leave the public to apply to the issuing house or banking syndicate which has undertaken the floating of the loan. This is often the most favourable opportunity of securing an absolutely good security. You get your inscribed stock or bond-to-bearer for yourself without